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BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX

BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX

THE TIMES, THE MAN, AND HIS WORK

BY

RICHARD SALTER STORRS, D.D., LL.D.

Author of "The Divine Origin of Christianity," etc.

London

HODDER AND STOUGHTON

27, PATERNOSTER ROW

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1892

TO

The Church of the Pilgrims,

BROOKLYN, NEW YORK:

Trained by God's grace, in its own happy work, till its freedom has become the helper of faith, its devoutness the teacher of catholic sympathy, the beauty of holiness its commanding ideal, the victory of Christ its supreme expectation, — long service in which has been rich in reward, —

These Lectures,

WRITTEN IN ITS LIBRARY, AND SKETCHING A LIFE OF SINGULAR LUSTRE,

ARE AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED.

9-29-37

AUTHOR'S NOTE.

THE following Lectures were prepared at the invitation of the honored Professors in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, New Jersey, to be delivered on what is there known as the L. P. Stone Foundation. They were subsequently delivered before the Lowell Institute in Boston; and three of them, the third, fourth, and seventh, have since been read at the Johns Hopkins University, in Baltimore.

The course was at first designed to embrace only six Lectures; and the writer has sometimes regretted that the primary plan had not been adhered to, — two, of the briefer course, being devoted perhaps to each of three of the greater Church Fathers, as to Chrysostom and Augustine, representing, respectively, the Eastern and the Western Church of the earlier period, with Bernard, representing the mediæval period. Having begun, however, with Bernard, on account of more recent familiarity with his writings and his work, the lecturer soon discovered that the entire series would be needed to set forth the great Abbot in any tolerable completeness; and other possible subjects were accordingly

postponed, for a leisure which is now quite certain not to come.

It further became evident, as the effort to exhibit Bernard was pursued, that in order to any sufficient delineation of the man and his career, it was indispensable to have his times more plainly in view than it could be assumed that they had been or were before some of those who might hear or afterward read the Lectures. Simply to present this remarkable leader of thought and action, belonging to a distant century, in an obscure passage of history between indefinite dark spaces, would be neither just to him nor useful to those whose thoughts might for a time be occupied with him. It seemed necessary, at least, to recur to that commanding work of Hildebrand which wrought memorable change in European society; and the work of Hildebrand could not be understood except in connection with the disastrous preceding decadence in Church and State, as well as with their subsequent comprehensive progress. So the first two Lectures came to be written, after the others were well advanced, as introductory to those which were to follow. The series thus took the larger compass which it retains, aiming not only to outline the personal figure of Bernard, but to trace rapidly the genesis of the forces which in his time were governing in Europe, from which he commonly took incentive and aid, which he had sometimes persistently to withstand, but which shaped always the environment of his life. Any apparent disproportion between the parts preliminary and those which succeed may be measurably relieved by this explanation.

It was the purpose of the writer, after delivering the Lectures, to supply at once such references and notes as should seem needful, and then to commit them to the press. But he became immediately occupied in preparing another longer series, previously promised to another institution, on a widely different theme, and the manuscripts already in hand had therefore to be laid aside till time might come for what it was foreseen would be the considerable labor of selecting and arranging suitable sustaining or illustrative notes. The multitude of cares constantly engaging the attention of a pastor in active service, with unexpected and exacting public duties afterward presented, still further delayed the fulfilment of the plan. Having, however, accepted an invitation to deliver the series before the Lowell Institute, the lecturer gladly availed himself of the chance to revise in a measure what he had written, and to point out or transcribe some of the passages in the writings of Bernard or his contemporaries, as well as of previous or subsequent authors, which had been before his mind in his earlier work; and so it comes to pass that after an interval greater than was expected the Lectures and Notes appear in this volume.

The Lectures are to be taken, of course, for what they were designed to be, associated general sketches of Bernard, in different relations, events, and activities of his life; not as aiming to supply a continuous or complete biographical or historical account of the man and his career. It is hoped, however, that the points of chief importance in his spirit, genius, and labors, as well as in the times which he powerfully affected, will

be found suggested in them. The Notes are more numerous, and sometimes more extended, than they would have been except for the hope that some may be attracted to the volume to whom the authors quoted may not be accessible, who will still be glad to have before them elucidation or confirmation of statements appearing in the text.

The extracts from the letters, sermons, and other writings of Bernard, and from the monastic accounts of his life, are uniformly taken from his "Opera," edited with affectionate care by Mabillon, and reprinted in Paris, in A. D. 1839. The six quarto parts of this collection are distributed, it will be remembered by those who know them, into two comprehensive "volumes;" and for greater convenience in consulting these volumes the references in the Lectures are always made to numbered columns, rather than to pages. In the cases of other authors cited the editions used have been, unless by inadvertence, carefully noted. The edition of Abélard's "Opera" is that edited by Cousin, and published in Paris, A. D. 1849; with the "Ouvrages Inédits" of A. D. 1836.

Not very much appears to have been written in English about Bernard, aside from brief essays, or occasional notices of him in general Church histories. The most extended and particular sketch of him is undoubtedly that given by James Cotter Morison in a volume dedicated to Carlyle, and published in London twenty-five years since. It is not altogether lucid in arrangement, or satisfactory in particular discussions, and is sometimes less sympathetic than could be desired

in spiritual tone; but it is prepared with conscientious care, is written in a clear and vigorous style, and contains passages of much beauty. An English translation of the works of Bernard has recently begun to appear, under the editorship of S. J. Eales, D. C. L., two volumes of which are already published.

German historical or biographical literature does not seem to have concerned itself extensively with the great French Doctor and Saint, though outlines of his opinions and his labors of course appear in the larger historical works of Neander, Hagenbach, Gieseler, and others, and two German monographs respecting him are well known: the more famous one, that of Neander, "Der heilige Bernhard und sein Zeitalter;" another, less important, by Ellendorf, "Der heilige Bernhard und die Hierarchie seiner Zeit." The early French translation of the Latin sermons has also been recently edited and published by Wendelin Foerster, A. D. 1885.

Among French writers on Bernard, the one most frequently referred to by the lecturer has been Théodore Ratisbonne, whose "Histoire de Saint Bernard et de son Siècle" (Paris A. D. 1875) is written with ardent admiration for the illustrious Abbot, though with a certain cultivated intensity of expression, as well as an occasionally disturbing polemical bias, which detract from its value. The article on Bernard in the "Biographie Universelle" is an excellent brief summary of his career; and there are a number of small volumes treating of him, like the "Études sur Saint Bernard" by Abel Desjardins, or one in the series by Capefigue on "Les Fondateurs des Grand Ordres."

Usually, however, these contain little of importance which does not better appear in Bernard's own works. This is equally true of the "Vie de Saint Bernard" which forms the first volume of the Bibliothèque Cistercienne. It remains an occasion of unceasing regret that M. de Montalembert did not complete that Life of Bernard for which he had made vast preparation, to accomplish which he was fitted beyond all others, and to which the entire series of his noble volumes on the Monks of the West[1] had been designed to lead the way. His failure to complete his magnificent plan involved a real loss to Christendom.

The writer of the following unpretending Lectures, which have no claim to attention other than that derived from their subject, has wished to avail himself of the labors of others wherever he might, but at the same time to keep his mind free from any determining impression by them, while picturing to himself the Abbot and his work, as presented in his own writings, and in the records made of him by those who were nearest to him in spirit and in time. He fully believes that any fruitful study of Bernard must be conducted along these lines, though excellent suggestions may be often received from those whose minds had been previously engaged upon the same theme. It is a great character, in a great career, which is here imperfectly presented. It can hardly fail to show itself great, from whatever point it may be considered; and stimulating lessons ought surely to come

[1] "Les Moines d'Occident, depuis Saint Benoît jusqu'à Saint Bernard;" Montalembert, Charles Forbes de Tryon, Comte de. Paris, 1863-1867.

from it. It may not be easy for one living in the nineteenth century wholly to understand one living in the twelfth; for one outside the Roman Catholic Church fully to interpret one trained from infancy in that ancient Communion. It cannot be easy for any one of ordinary powers and labor clearly to exhibit, even to himself, an extraordinary genius for incitement and command, shown in an equally extraordinary work. But it is often ennobling to contemplate that which expands our thought even though surpassing it; and the writer of these Lectures, while quite aware of their many deficiencies, cannot but hope that others may be animated by them to studies in which he found for himself, long ago, and has found ever since, pleasure, instruction, and a happy inspiration.

Before closing this Note, he desires particularly and gratefully to acknowledge his indebtedness, not only to the Library of the Long Island Historical Society in Brooklyn, but to that of Columbia College, to the Boston Public Library, and to the library of the Union Theological Seminary in New York, for occasional use of important books not otherwise within his reach. The prompt courtesy with which every request for aid of this kind has been answered by those in charge of these libraries has laid him under frequent and great obligation.

The shadow of grief, as well as the glow of happy remembrance, falls on this volume as it finally leaves the writer's hands. He who was most solicitous to have the Lectures prepared, who welcomed them with an abounding sympathy, whose delightful home at

Princeton will be always associated in the mind of the lecturer with his repeated visits to it for the delivery of the course now committed to the press, has in the year just closing passed from the earth to grander and lovelier scenes beyond. An accomplished scholar, an admirable teacher, a wide-minded theologian, an earnest and a reverent Christian, a most cordial, loyal, and animating friend, was withdrawn from earthly circles by the death, before age had touched him, of Professor Caspar Wistar Hodge, D. D. One who knew him well, in his public work and his fireside life, and who will always recall him with affectionate honor till he meets him again in other spheres, counts it a sad pleasure to associate his name, familiar and beloved, with Lectures to which he had given warm invitation and a generous approval.

R. S. STORRS.

BROOKLYN, N. Y., October 10th, 1892.

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LECTURE I.

THE TENTH CENTURY: ITS EXTREME DEPRESSION AND FEAR.

LECTURE I.

THE TENTH CENTURY: ITS EXTREME DEPRESSION AND FEAR.

It is a pleasant office to which I am summoned, to present to you a few Lectures, not hastily meditated or planned though of necessity rapidly written, on the times and the career of the extraordinary man known in history as Bernard of Clairvaux. I cannot hope to set before you any multitude of facts connected with the theme, with some of which, at least, many among you are not acquainted. But I have a diffident hope of so reviving the impression of these facts, and so showing their significance by setting them in their just relations, as to leave a clearer picture than is commonly familiar, even among those not unused to historical studies, of one who exercised a remarkable authority in his own time, who contributed in an important measure to give direction and tone to its history, the effect of whose life outlasted its term, and whose name will not be forgotten while men still honor genius and virtue, exhibited in high action with supreme consecration.

I may perhaps be permitted to add that my reverent sense of the singular beauty and power of the man, and of the wide relations of his work, is by no means of recent beginning. For many years his figure has been to me one of the saintliest and most heroic on the can-

vas of European history; and my attempt now to present him, in connection with the critical and threatening times on which he set his signal mark, has its impulse in an enthusiasm which began long ago, and which does not fail as years advance.

Will you suffer me, too, to say a few words, at the outset of these Lectures, on the general usefulness of studies like those with which for a time I would occupy your thought?

To accustom one's self to a too exclusive contemplation of the past, whatever occasional splendid exhibitions of noble action or illustrious character it may present, is doubtless a sign and a source of weakness. It tends to give undue predominance to the historical imagination, while leaving the powers which are needed for immediate personal work without adequate exercise. It may subtly foster that timid spirit which is scared by the questionings and repelled by the contests of which each active century is full. Every man has his work to do in his own time, a work proportioned to his powers, matching his opportunity, and opening to him the real privilege of intelligent existence. To retreat from such work into a merely self-indulgent survey of past struggles, and of those prominent or principal in them, is to exchange duty for pleasure, obedience to conscience for alluring reminiscence. There is here a temptation to which studious men, especially those of a sensitive spirit, are always exposed; and it becomes only more seductive in times like ours, confused in thought, full of haste and violence in opinion and action, with an acrid and vehement controversial temper prevalent in it, a temper almost equally moved to sharpness of discussion over matters fundamental and matters superficial. Against such an in-

clination, to a withdrawal of our minds from what is presently before us and from its imperious moral demands, we must be watchfully on our guard. We may not retire to any hermitage in the past, to escape collision and avoid obligation, any more than we may fly from the land of our birth, however it echoes with clamorous debate or now and then rings with alarums of war, to find some dainty and shameful seclusion, free from strife and vacant of impulse, on tropical shores.

But while this is true, it is true as well that to bring a former period of time distinctly before us, to become familiar with its picturesque or presaging movements, to apprehend clearly the moral and intellectual forces by which it was either graced or shamed, above all to come into personal sympathy with those who wrought in it, with mighty endeavor, for noble ends,— this is an exercise of mind and spirit whose instruction and fine incitement can scarcely be surpassed. Our horizon is widened. The discerning and interpreting faculty in us is keenly stimulated, while multitudes of particulars are added to our knowledge. Whatever sensibility we possess to rare and rich chivalric properties in character or work is freshly awakened. Duty becomes more beautiful, and more commanding in its challenge. Our own possibilities, in narrower limits of faculty and influence, become more apparent, as we enter into intimate contact with the devout and heroical persons whose names are borne, lucid and eminent, above the turbulent series of the ages, — with men accomplished in the learning of their time, eager in its enterprises, effective in its councils, and who brought to it an ethereal temper surpassing its own, by which they became not only helpers of its progress, but founders and architects of whatever was best in it.

We do not always fully recognize the large opportunity thus set before us. We may not absolutely select our associates among the present multitudes who surround us. We may select them with unhindered freedom as we walk amid the populous spaces which history opens; and by any true moral conference with the gentle and gracious yet dauntless persons who have wrought heretofore with a supreme ardor for illustrious aims, we ought to be ourselves ennobled, our indolence being rebuked, our timidity expelled, a certain elasticity of vigor coming into our souls, with a gladder consecration to ideal ends. It is possible, at least, to catch something on our spirits of the rush of their uncalculating devotion; to take finer illumination from their spiritual insight; to feel a touch of the sovereign chrism of that communion with God in which they found their superlative strength. As we enter this fellowship with them we are released for the time from the petty and jarring strifes with which our passing years are vexed; we swing clear of confining limitations to region, custom, the prevalent proximate forms of opinion; we become in a just sense freemen of the world, partakers in struggles nobler than our own, humble associates of elect and anointed spirits. No romance, I think, can stir the soul, no lofty rhyme can so uplift it, as does this vital contact with minds now vanished from the earth, but the impulse of whose life continues with us, of the fruit of whose work Christendom partakes.

Nor is even this a sufficient account of the moral advantage of studies like that which I propose. Our times, which sometimes appear mechanical, commonplace, take deeper significance as we attentively consider the past; especially as we note the far reach of influence in those by whom its movements were chiefly affected. The tre-

mendous force which belongs to any great personality, and the sovereign persistence of its influence among men, become apparent. We gain a profounder sense of the unity of history, as continuous and organic. We see more distinctly the interdependence of centuries on each other, with our indebtedness to many who have labored and struggled before us. Above all, there comes to us a more exhilarating sense of the potency and promise which belong to each Divine element in the progressive education of mankind; and wherever we touch with reverent spirit the history of the Church, amid whatever outward confusions or inward clash of dialectic collisions, we are sensible of a certain majestic advance in the scheme of its development, and are freshly assured of the ultimate victory of that religion from which its life and energy have come.

Nothing is more impressive in history than the utter unreserve of power with which men have been moved, in different lands and in separate centuries, by an impulse from above, to strive as for their life for the supreme cause of righteousness and truth; while almost nothing is more apparent than are the assisting processes of Providence, moving before or succeeding such men, acting sometimes on occult lines, yet with a fit and opportune energy which brought its own abundant witness. The history of Christianity, as it lies before us in European annals, makes it evident as the day that with a mighty general progress, though undoubtedly with frequent sad interruptions, the spiritual life in persons and in peoples has been impenetrated with that heavenly force which came to the world in Jesus of Nazareth. Amid whatever infidelities toward the truth, whatever grossness of manners or sordidness of temper, or passionate fury against the "Shalt" and "Shalt not" of

God's law, the tender, majestic, and solemn facts presented in the Gospel are shown extending their sway, not over individuals only, but over the minds and policies of nations; and a multitude of consenting indications appear, pointing to their final universal acceptance among the children of men.

To the Christian student, here is really the most important of the lessons derived from the past. The gradual mighty upbuilding on earth of that Kingdom of God for which even they looked on whom had not dawned the light of the Advent, for which apostles and martyrs wrought, the vision of which exalted Augustine amid the wrecks of human empire, the vision of which never has passed from the prescient thought of great leaders in history, — this, to the mind devoutly looking backward, becomes as evident as any phenomenon of nature to the eye; while the saying of the illustrious Numidian is verified, that "as oppositions of contraries lend beauty to language, so the beauty of the course of the world is achieved by the opposition of contraries, arranged as it were by an eloquence not of words but of things."[1]

In like manner, the significance of our times, as connected with this Divine scheme for the world, becomes more evident, and the influence of the just apprehension of this is always inspiring. In a broad view of history, the immediate century in which we live ceases to be so undivine as sometimes it appears in an air filled with the whir of wheels, with smoke of factories darkening the sky, amid furious clamors of unimportant debate. Our years stand also in serious, in even momentous relations, with ages past, and with ages to come. The struggle of other times, in which fierce

[1] City of God, l. xi. c. 18.

greed or desperate ambitions were encountered by conquering inspirations of faith, prepared the way for the years in whose happier influence we delight. Whatever is best in our civilization is an inheritance from their laborious and painful acquisition; while the times which are to follow should take in like manner, if not in like measure, endowment from ours. God's plan in history no more contemplated the periods which are gone than it contemplates the cycle around us, of novelty in thought, of restless exploration, daring enterprise, an imperious democracy. As the Master was silently manifest in those times, through the motion of his Spirit in reverent souls, so is He revealed in our day, to those who read the mystic signs. As they had their vast problems to solve, their dangers to avert, their frightful evils to overcome, so we have ours; and as out of them great influence came, the issue of their travail, to invigorate and shape subsequent years, so, perhaps in a degree not inferior, may belong to our century a like privilege of power, if in it be the temper, of spiritual efficacy, which in them broke forth into mission or martyrdom.

The earth an arena in which God's purpose incessantly works toward the final aim of universal and holy peace; the centuries of history constituting but one terrestrial period, in which the experience of moral toil, struggle, and conquest continuously goes on; the convergence of all on the consummating age foreshown of old and surely coming,— these are lessons which constantly meet us in any interpreting survey of the past; and the most imposing and important of centuries, as human annals reckon importance, or those which appear most fruitless and mean, when rightly understood will equally supply these salutary lessons. Even the smaller

things in the record, which are easily overlooked, will have for us then their vital, sometimes indeed their cosmical meaning; since out of cloister and cell, out of field and workshop, as well as out of library, university, cathedral, out of millions uncounted of unremembered but consecrated lives, as well as out of state-debates, movements of armies, eminent careers, has come the Christian civilization in which we rejoice, in whose ampler light the past looks shadowed, but whose own imperfections will be clearlier shown as other centuries follow and surpass it. Nothing in history, which is true, is therefore to us unimportant. The humblest work, which was faithfully done, has borne its fruit. The age which appears least conspicuous, as we regard it from the midst of present confusions and hurries, will be sometime seen to have had distinct bearing on our years, and on those which are to come.

Certainly, with particular emphasis, this is true of those changeful and crowded centuries which began in the fifth, with the terrifying fall of the Latin empire in the West, and which closed in the fifteenth, with the loss to Christendom of the city of Constantine. It has been at times a fashionable folly to regard those ages as a dreary and barren parenthesis in history, full only of vehement clamors, prodigal carnage, lurid superstitions, prelatical ambition, — a period unattractive in itself, and with no more vital relation to our times than Nova Zembla has to the moral and commercial life of our towns. To skip this period, and pass at once from the Old World to the New, has seemed to many a wise economy. On the other hand, it was in fact a period full of stirring prophetic life, of indomitable energies, of moral battles and moral successes, — a period from which benefits come to every hour of our social or

political experience. In the vast providential commingling of what remained of the Roman civilization with the Teutonic and Slavic barbarisms, under the inexhaustible force of that Christian religion to which imperialism had yielded, and which barbarism could not subdue or expel, were evolved stupendous forces, spiritual and secular, which moulded States, produced literatures, fashioned and maintained religious establishments, put certain impulses into society whose influence is to-day unspent. I cannot think that the careful student of modern history will question the just perspective of Guizot, when he says, with philosophical deliberation as well as with ardent historic enthusiasm, that 'there is the cradle of modern societies and manners; that modern languages date from those times, with modern literatures, so far as these are national and original; that from thence are derived the greater part of the monuments now possessed, — churches, palaces, city-halls, works of art, and works of utility, — with almost all the great families which have played a distinguished part in affairs; while there are presented a multitude of important and splendid national events, which strike with ever fresh force the popular imagination.' It is, as he says, "the heroic age of modern nations. What more natural than its richness and poetic attraction?" [1]

[1] D'une part, il est impossible de méconnaître que c'est là le berceau des sociétés et des mœurs modernes. De là datent les langues modernes, et spécialement la nôtre; les littératures modernes, précisément dans ce qu'elles ont de national, d'original, d'étranger à toute science, à toute imitation d'autres temps et d'autres pays; la plupart des monuments modernes, des monuments où se sont rassemblés pendant des siècles et se rassemblent encore les peuples, églises, palais, hôtels-de-ville, ouvrages d'art et d'utilité publique de tout genre; presque toutes les familles historiques, les familles qui ont joué un rôle et placé leur nom dans les diverses phases de notre destinée; un grand nombre d'événements nationaux, importants en eux-mêmes et longtemps populaires, les croisades, la cheva-

What more natural, we may properly add, than that we should give, as opportunity offers, a closer attention to a period so full of vigor, contest, and in many directions, of noble achievement? a period which has left ineffaceable traces on subsequent centuries, and which cannot fail to be re-studied while history proceeds. It would be worth examination if only for the manifestation which it makes of the forces of human nature, the best and the worst coming equally to light, as secrets of the seas are flung into sight beneath stroke of tempests. It becomes more worthy of considerate study as we recognize the public tendencies there initiated or confirmed, or violently thwarted, the vast processes there set in motion, of thought and law, of national enterprise, or of victorious Christian advance. One speaks temperately in saying that to know that time is to gain a clearer and juster apprehension of much which has followed in Church and in State. It is, in fact, to trace to their roots many things which our age is proud to possess.

It is under the impulse of thoughts like these that I propose to set before you, as far as I may in this series of lectures, the life and spirit, the genius and work, of the great Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux; to set him distinctly amid the angry collisions of his time, and to show in a measure what influence he exerted on its princes and pontiffs, as well as on its general popular development. I am confident that the careful study of one whose place in his age was so distinguished cannot but be of interest to us. I hope, indeed, that it may

lerie; en un mot, presque tout ce qui a préoccupé, agité pendant des siècles, l'imagination du peuple français. C'est là évidemment l'âge héroique des nations modernes. Quoi de plus naturel que sa richesse et son attrait poétique? — *Hist. de la Civil. en France*, tom. iii. p. 222. Paris ed., 1846.

show its fruit in generous and ennobling personal suggestions. It is not the miracle of a perfect life which we are to contemplate; not a soul without weakness or sin into fellowship with which I would help you to enter. But it is certainly a significant fact that men of the most diverse opinions, as remote as possible in church relations, have conspired to offer to the Abbot of Clairvaux their tributes of honor. He was formally canonized in the Roman Catholic Church, as you know, by Alexander Third, a little more than twenty years after his death,[1] and a church-festival was established in homage to him. Those registered on the Papal catalogues of saints have by no means always attracted admiration in subsequent time. But in the instance of Bernard it does not surprise us that Thomas Aquinas, in the following century, should compare him to a vase of gold on account of his holiness, and to a multitude of pearls on account of the multiplicity of his virtues;[2] that Bonaventura should describe him as gifted with a sublime

[1] Vix a sacro ipsius obitu anni decem effluxerant, cum in concilio Turonensi, anno 1163 celebrato, sedente et præsidente Alexandro III., ea res primum agitari cœpit. At summus Pontifex, quamvis alioqui pro sua erga Bernardum veneratione libentissime annuisset, tantisper nihilominus differendam censuit ob eas rationes, quas ipse in litteris Canonizationis postea exposuit. . . . Incidit ergo Bernardi sacra inauguratio in diem 18 mensis januarii, anni 1174; ab ejus obitu viginti annis exactis, mensibus quatuor, et diebus viginti novem. . . . Sed jam summi pontificis Alexandri III. litteras, quibus inter cœlites ab Ecclesia relatus ostenditur Bernardus, proferamus. — *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, vol. ii. coll. 2593–94. The pontifical letters follow, to col. 2600.

[2] Aurum fuit omnibus os ejus de Deo loquendo; multitudo gemmarum de moribus et virtutibus loquendo, de dulcedine contemplationis, et devotionis. . . . Fuerunt ergo labia ejus aurea, gemmea, et pretiosa. Vel aurum fuit beatus Bernardus per voluntatis sanctitatem; multitudo gemmarum per morum honestatem, et virtutum multiplicitatem; vas pretiosum per virginitatis puritatem. — *Sermo in festi B. Bernardi; Div. Thom. Aquin. Sermones*, p. 116. Venetiis, 1787.

eloquence, while of a temper so rich in saintly wisdom that not only his words are memorable, but his life is a constant example.[1] It does not surprise us that Baronius should speak of him as a true apostle of God, the stay and splendor of the whole Church, especially of the Church in France;[2] that the learned and devout Mabillon should count his writings next in value to the Scriptures themselves for religious minds;[3] that Bossuet should associate him as a witness for doctrine with the illustrious Fathers of the Church, and describe him as appearing, in the midst of barbaric ignorance, an apostle, a prophet, an earthly angel, demonstrated such by his preaching, his works, and by that spirit in his life which still surpassed his prodigies of power;[4] or that Martène, in the last century, in his

[1] Audisti igitur verba pulcherrima altissimi contemplantis, et orationum dulcedinem degustantis Bernardi. Rumines ea si vis, ut sapiant tibi. . . . Ipse enim fuit eloquentissimus, et spiritu sapientiæ plenus, et sanctitate præclarus; quem te desidero imitari, et ipsius monita et verba opere exercere, propter quod sæpe tibi propono eundem. — *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, cap. xxxvi. Opera, tom. vi. p. 361.

[2] Vere Apostolicus vir, immo verus Apostolus missus a Deo, potens opere et sermone, illustrans ubique et in omnibus suum Apostolatum sequentibus signis, ut plane nihil minus habuerit a magnis Apostolis. . . . Et qui dicendus sit totius Ecclesiæ Catholicæ ornamentum simul ac fulcimentum; Gallicanæ vero in primis Ecclesiæ prædicandus sit summum decus, summa gloria, summa felicitas. — *Annal. Eccles.* (Lucæ, 1746), tom. xix. p. 73 [an. 1153].

[3] Verum ex omnibus libris, quos possunt, aut debent monachi evolvere, nullus post sacra Volumina superest, qui majori queat ipsis esse emolumento, quemque præ manibus magis habere teneantur, quam Opera Divi Bernardi; . . . in hanc quippe mixta fluunt, quæcumque alibi dispersa occurrunt, nimirum soliditas, venustas, varietas, proprietas, brevitas, fervor, et energia sermonis. — *Tract. de Stud. Monast.*, tom. i. pars ii. cap. iii. § 2. Venet. ed. 1729, p. 117.

[4] Bossuet associates Bernard as a witness for doctrine with Augustine, Tertullian, Cyprian, Clement. — *Œuvres choisies*, tom. xv. pp. 264–295. Paris ed., 1823.

extensive visitation of monasteries, should note with particular and affectionate care every memorial of Bernard, — copies of his manuscripts, the cross at Vézelai in memory of him, the chair from which he preached at Sens, his chalice and chasuble, his tombstone, and his portrait. The remembrance of him was still so vital that it sanctified everything which he might be even supposed to have touched, for the diligent and studious Benedictine.[1]

But for us it perhaps enhances such eulogies that Luther also should speak of him as the most God-fearing and pious of monks, whom he held in higher love than all others;[2] that Daniel Heinsius, the famous and learned Secretary of the Synod of Dort, should call his "Meditations" a stream of Paradise, the ambrosia of souls, an angelic food, the quintessence of piety;[3] that the austere and accurate Calvin should describe him as a pious and holy writer, above his time, pungent and discriminating in rebuke of its errors;[4] while Neander, in our time, has pronounced an encomium on his century for having submitted itself to his moral authority.[5] Nor is it certainly without significance that even Voltaire should speak of him as able beyond others to reconcile occupation in the uproar of affairs with the austerity of life proper to his religious state, and as

[1] Voyage Littéraire. Paris, 1717. Prem. Par., pp. 23, 53, 60, 99, 104; Sec. Par., p. 205, *et al.*

[2] Table Talk, ccccxc.

[3] Quis suavius Bernardo scribit? Cujus ego Meditationes rivum paradisi, ambrosiam animarum, pabulum angelicum, medullam pietatis vocare soleo (Orat. 3). — *S. Ber. Opera*, vol. sec. col. 2618.

[4] Institutes of Christ. Religion, iv. 5, § 12; 7, §§ 18, 22; 11, § 11, *et al.*

[5] Nicht zu verachten scheint uns das Zeitalter, in welchem ein Mann, von keinem weltlichen Glanze umgeben, durch seine sittliche Kraft, durch die Höhe und Stärke seines Geistes sich so grosses Ansehen und so grossen Einfluss verschaffte. — *Der heilige Bernhard*, s. 522.

having attained a personal consideration surpassing in efficacy official authority;[1] that Gibbon should portray him, in spite of an inveterate prejudice against saints, as standing high above his contemporaries, in speech, in writing, and in action, and making himself "the oracle of Europe."[2]

It can hardly remain a matter for doubt that one who was confessedly so conspicuous and so influential in the Christendom of his age, and who has attracted eulogies like these from writers so remote in time, character, opinion, especially in their relations to the themes and institutes of religion, must be deserving of our study. It cannot be otherwise than useful for us to set him distinctly amid his times, to see what mark he made upon them, and to trace as carefully as we may the secrets of that extraordinary power which all who approached him appear to have felt; which made him to them — which should make him to us — a true priest of God, ministering grace and force from above. If it be in its nature ennobling to meditate on a life devoted to sovereign ideals, to contemplate a soul ardent, intense, passionate in enthusiasm, while devout, self-forgetful, and wholly disdainful of worldly pleasures and of secular prizes; if any virtue may be derived from contact with a mind which dwelt habitually in the adoring contemplation of God, and to which the earth was not as real as were celestial realms above, — we ought, certainly, to be better and nobler persons for the hours which we spend with Saint Bernard. He will say to us still, as

[1] "Jamais religieux n'avait mieux concilié le tumulte des affaires avec l'austérité de son état; aucun n'était arrivé comme lui à cette considération purement personnelle qui est audessus de l'autorité même." — *Essai sur les Mœurs*, chap. lv. p. 206. Œuvres, Paris, 1877.

[2] Decline and Fall, vol. vii. p. 403. London ed., 1848.

he said of old in cloister or chapel to those who eagerly flocked around him, leaving all things otherwise precious for the delight of nearness to him: "If thou writest, nothing therein has savor to me unless I read Jesus in it. If thou discoursest or conversest, nothing there is agreeable to me unless in it also Jesus resounds. Jesus is honey in the mouth, melody in the ear, a song of jubilee in the heart. He is our medicine, as well. Is any among you saddened? Let Jesus enter into his heart, and thence leap to his lips, and lo! at the rising illumination of His name every cloud flies away, serenity returns."[1] His written words may still impress us, as they did those who heard them at first: "Not without reward is God to be loved, though He is to be loved without the expectation of reward. True love is wholly satisfied in itself. It has a reward, but the reward is in the object which is loved."[2] "To whom may I more fitly live than to Him except for whose death I should not live? But I serve Him in perfect freedom, since love gives liberty. Serve you, also, in that love which casteth out fear, which feels no labors, is conscious of no merit, asks no price, and which yet has in it more urgent impulse than everything else. This will join you inseparably with me; it will mani-

[1] Aridus est omnis animae cibus, si non oleo isto infunditur; insipidus est, si non hoc sale conditur. Si scribas, non sapit mihi nisi legero ibi Jesum. Si disputes aut conferas, non sapit mihi, nisi sonuerit ibi Jesus. Jesus mel in ore, in aure melos, in corde jubilus. Sed est et medicina. Tristatur aliquis vestrum? Veniat in cor Jesus, et inde saliat in os; et ecce ad exortum nominis lumen, nubilum omne diffugit, redit serenum. — *Vol. prim., Ser. in Cant.*, xv. 6; col. 2744.

[2] Non enim sine præmio diligitur Deus, etsi absque præmii intuitu diligendus sit. . . . Verus amor se ipso contentus est. Habet præmium, sed id quod amatur. — *Vol. prim., Tract. de dilig. Deo.* Cap. vii. § 17; col. 1343.

fest me immediately to you, dearest Brethren, most longed for, especially in the hours when you pray."[1]

Let us try to bring this man, in his personal image, plainly before us, and to set him clearly amid the times in which he lived, since it was by the constant demand of those times upon him, with the responsive impact upon them of his energetic and conquering spirit, that his faculties were trained, his personal character was unfolded and matured, and his work made of memorable effect. No effort of the imagination can present any tolerable picture of Bernard except as it places him in close association with the age which felt his impress; and even his particular century needs to be exhibited in that which it had taken from previous times, and in that which it gave to those that came after, that we may have a fair impression of his almost unique career. It is a crude and careless fancy which imagines the several centuries which passed within the time-limits that I have indicated to have been equally ignorant, stolid, sordid, proceeding on a dreary level of sluggish dulness, no one being specially differenced from others, and no one offering an opportunity beyond others for noble work. On the other hand, the differences between those centuries were vital and profound; one of splendid achievement being followed by others of decadence or downfall, in which the life of Christendom seemed threatened, while these in turn gave place to others of larger promise, and in the issue affecting with benefi-

[1] Cui enim justius vivam quam ei, qui si non moreretur, ego non viverem? . . . Sed servio voluntarie, quia charitas libertatem donat. Servite in charitate illa, quæ timorem expellit, labores non sentit, meritum non intuetur, præmium non requirit; et tamen plus omnibus urget. . . . Ipsa vos mihi inseparabiliter jungat, ipsa me vobis jugiter repræsentet, horis maxime quibus oratis, charissimi et desideratissimi fratres. — *Vol. prim., Epist.* cxliii. [ad Suos, Claræ Vall.] col. 354.

cent impulse the subsequent time. It was in one of the latter periods, as thus morally distinguished, that Bernard found his place and his work.

He was born in the year A.D. 1091; twenty-five years after the Norman conquest of England; eighteen years after Hildebrand had been consecrated Pope, under the title of Gregory Seventh; while Philip First, the third successor of Hugh Capet, was in the midst of his long reign of almost half a century in France. The time in which his life was cast was separated thus by an interval of three hundred years from that age of Charlemagne which still remains prominent and brilliant in European annals, while the interval had been one, to an extent never surpassed, of fear, of gloom, almost of despair, out of which neither the Church nor the State had fully emerged. An influence from the remoter century still survived, however, in the West. It had prompted whatever effort had been made for better things in the period now closing; and in Bernard's time there was a certain moral life, a certain responsiveness to moral impression, in men and in society, which had not equally appeared a century before, while yet the perils of his age were so great, its shames so many, that certainly none since Christendom began has more needed the mightiest ministry which genius, virtue, and a consummate devotion could supply. To set the character of his time clearly before you will not be difficult, but it will ask your patience for an attentive review. Such confused, imperious, turbulent elements as it presents, in tumultuous combination or in angry collision, cannot be understood without retracing the centuries out of which they had come, and the mark of whose disordered and passionate life was palpably upon them. One would not delay for this if it could be avoided, but I see not

how it can be. To know the man we must know the age on which his influence was majestically exerted, and on which his name still sheds its lustre; and we cannot know this without knowing, in general, out of what diverse precedent forces its life had come.

Of course, however, it is wholly impossible within the compass of a lecture, or a couple of lectures, to delineate with careful minuteness the features of the centuries preceding his. I can only outline, in a rapid free-hand way, some prominent courses of experience and action along which they had moved, with the rude, reckless, infuriated forces working in them, a part of whose outcome was in the ebullient and violent life, civil and social, religious, military, political, in the midst of which we are to place Bernard. To paint in few words a storm at sea were a task from which most would doubtless shrink. To exhibit any distinct panorama of the almost chaotic period which preceded his life is a work more difficult, which must still be attempted. You will not look for grace of movement, or lightness of touch, in the hand which tries it.

The lowest point which civilization has reached in Europe since the century and a half which followed the fracturing of the western empire by Odoacer, A.D. 476, was that which it found at the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh of the Christian centuries. For the tenth of these, especially, "The Iron Age" has been a common name in history since Baronius wrote. His description of it as the "sæculum obscurum" is also fitly and frequently repeated.[1] It is not difficult to

[1] Novum inchoatur sæculum, quod sua asperitate, ac boni sterilitate ferreum, malique exudantis deformitate plumbeum, atque inopia scriptorum appellari consuevit obscurum. — BARONIUS: *Annal. Ecclesiast.*, tom. xv. p. 500. Lucae, 1744.

trace the events which had led to this disastrous consummation; and it is the more needful to do this because that century followed a period, after no long interval, of surprising achievement and extraordinary promise.

The invasion of central Europe by the Saracens, who had conquered large parts of Spain and of southern France, and who thence had swarmed forth for the conquest of the Continent, had been arrested, as all are aware, by Charles Martel, in the shattering victory gained by him on the famous field between Poictiers and Tours, in the early autumn of A.D. 732, when the "victorious line of march," which, as Gibbon says, "had been prolonged above a thousand miles, from the rock of Gibraltar to the banks of the Loire," was finally broken, by "the breasts which were like solid ramparts, and the arms which were iron."[1] There was thenceforth no formidable threat that Asia and Africa might subjugate Europe, that the Arab might be lord of the Teuton and the Briton, or that the interpretation of the Koran, according to the startling fancy of the historian, might be taught in the schools of Oxford, and "her pulpits demonstrate to a circumcised people the sanctity and truth of the revelation of Mahomet." It suggests a lesson not unimpressive of our unconscious indebtedness to the past, that men who could have known little of England, and nothing of this continent, should by their courage, constancy, and sacrifice, have saved both in the subsequent centuries from indescribable moral disaster. Our churches, colleges, Christian homes, have root and nutriment to this hour in the soil soaked with the blood of those who fought eleven

[1] Decline and Fall, vol. vii. pp. 17-22. London ed., 1848.

and a half centuries ago, in that fierce and fateful battle.[1]

One greater than Charles, Charlemagne his grandson, at the beginning of the ninth century, had done a greater work than his, also intimately connected with the rescue and progress of civilization. It is possible, no doubt, perhaps it is common, to place an extravagant estimate on the achievements of this extraordinary man — "the genius of the Middle Age" — in connection with the development of Europe. Sismondi's cautious and discreet praise may represent the truth with more exactness than do the exuberant eulogies of others. It is certainly true, as that discriminating historian suggests, that the signal brilliance of the reign of the great emperor shines more brightly, like that of a sudden and splendid meteor, because of the darkness which had preceded and which followed it;[2] and it is perhaps

[1] Dr. Arnold's estimate of the importance of the victory of Charles Martel is indicated in a passage of his "History of the later Roman Commonwealth:" "If this be so [that unchecked Roman successes in Germany would have Latinized the Teutonic tribes] the victory of Arminius deserves to be reckoned among those signal deliverances which have affected for centuries the happiness of mankind; and we may regard the destruction of Quintilius Varus and his three legions on the banks of the Lippe as second only in the benefits derived from it to the victory of Charles Martel at Tours over the invading host of the Mohammedans." Chap. xi. p. 468. New York ed., 1846.

[2] Le règne de Charlemagne est un grand météore qui brille dans l'obscurité, à un trop grand éloignement pour que nous puissions l'étudier et le comprendre. On est frappé de son éclat que précédèrent et que suivirent d'épaisses ténèbres; on l'admire, mais on ne sauroit calculer ses effets, mieux que reconnoître ses causes, et l'on ne peut même affirmer s'il fut avantageux ou pernicieux pour l'humanité. — *Hist. des Français*, tom. ii. p. 421. Paris ed., 1821.

Guizot's estimate of Charlemagne's work differs from this; but he adopts the same image of the meteor, and likens the empire of Charlemagne to that of the first Napoleon. Hist. de la Civil. en France, tom. ii. pp. 110–113. Paris ed., 1846.

equally true that his vast schemes had in them too large an imaginative element to be capable of effective accomplishment at a time so early and so rude. But whatever criticism may be made on his plans and his career, and however fully it must be admitted that his masterful intellect and inexorable energy were indispensable to his plans, while they could not naturally survive himself, it remains true that his work was of immense and permanent significance, and of cosmical value; that it showed the possibility, at least, of securing on the Continent public order with regulated liberty; and that, if it did not lay solid and enduring foundations for these, the fault was rather in the weakness and incoherence of his materials than in his own prudence and plan. He anticipated his age in his large conceptions; and the peoples were not ready for those general effects which were governing aims both in his counsels and in his campaigns.

I could not, of course, even if moved to it, delineate his work in any detail. It is enough to remind you that in more than fifty great military expeditions he conquered a large part of Italy, down almost to Calabria; he practically delivered Spain from the Saracens between the Pyrenees and the Ebro; he subdued the Bavarians and the Saxons, and compelled them to accept what was then known as Christianity in Europe; he extended his empire over Bohemia and Carinthia, fought the Slaves, and repulsed in the ancient Pannonia the fierce Avars who had become a terror to every people striving toward better civilization. He gave, for the time, territorial security to central and western Europe, from the North Sea to the Tiber, from near the Iron Gate of the Danube westward to the ocean; and when he returned to Aix-la-Chapelle, after being proclaimed

Emperor of the West at St. Peter's in Rome, on Christmas-Day in the year A.D. 800,[1] his dominions embraced substantially two thirds of the ancient western Roman empire, including German lands which that empire never had conquered, while the forces at his command for compacting the unity and extending the area of these dominions had been hardly surpassed by those of any, in any age, who had worn and sullied the imperial purple.

His expeditions, you observe, were not mere raids, but were organized campaigns, designed to accomplish permanent effects. In a measure, they did accomplish such; and though it is true, as Guizot has said, that the disorder which confronted him was not only immense but at the time unsubduable, so that when repressed at one point it broke forth at another the moment his terrible will was withdrawn, it is also true, as the grave historian reminds us, that all the States which sprang from the subsequent dismemberment of the Empire were founded by these wars of Charlemagne. Only in consequence of these wars did such States, rising from the scarred battle-fields of swarming barbarians, become

[1] Ipse autem cum die sacratissima natalis Domini ad missarum solemnia celebranda basilicam beati Petri apostoli fuisset ingressus, et coram altari, ubi ad orationem se inclinaverat, adsisteret, Leo papa coronam capiti eius imposuit, cuncto Romanorum populo adclamante: *Karolo Augusto, a Deo coronato magno et pacifico imperatori Romanorum, vita et victoria!* Post quas laudes ab eodem pontifice more antiquorum principum adoratus est, ac deinde, omisso Patricii nomine, Imperator et Augustus appellatus. — EINHARDI: *Annales*, an. 801.

The long-abiding tradition was broken through; a barbarian received the diadem; the Roman pontiff spoke the words, the Roman people echoed them, — "Karolo Augusto, a Deo coronato, magno et pacifico Romanorum Imperatori, vita et victoria." The German was at last Augustus. — E. A. FREEMAN: *Chief Periods of European History*, p. 105. London ed., 1886.

actual and lasting.[1] In view of this effect, one need not hesitate to join in the words which the historian elsewhere uses, which are more emphatic because of the temper of philosophical reserve in which he commonly wrote: "No sovereign, no human being, perhaps, ever rendered greater service to the civilization of the world."[2]

But the military work of Charlemagne was never ultimate in his plans. It was designed to be conditional and directly tributary to a work of more essential importance, more difficult and extensive, in the realms of social and political life. He convened national assemblies, nearly forty of which are particularly enumerated, meeting commonly in cities not far from the Rhine. At these assemblies reports were received from different regions; inquiries were made as to their temper, needs, and respective opportunities; and out of the answers to such inquiries came what are known as the "capitularies," or little chapters, of the Emperor, containing a multitude of what are essentially administrative rules. They constitute, as Gibbon noticed, rather a series than a system, while they concerned all sorts of matters, as he also sneeringly observed,— "the correction of abuses, the reformation of manners, the economy of his [the Emperor's] farms, the care of his poultry,

[1] Malgré l'unité, malgré l'activité de sa pensée et de son pouvoir, le désordre était autour de lui immense, invincible: il le réprimait un moment, sur un point; mais le mal régnait partout où ne parvenait pas sa terrible volonté; et là où elle avait passé, il recommençait dès qu'elle s'était éloignée. . . . Après lui, de vraies barrières politiques des États plus ou moins bien organisés, mais réels et durables, s'élèvent; les royaumes de Lorraine, d'Allemagne, d'Italie, des deux Bourgognes, de Navarre, datent de cette époque. — *Hist. de la Civil. en France*, tom. ii. pp. 122, 121.

[2] History of France, vol. i. p. 252. Boston ed.

and even the sale of his eggs."[1] But they exhibit the first distinct attempt to revise and harmonize the laws of the diverse peoples who had been brought beneath his authority, and to promulgate salutary rules equally affecting separated regions; and some of them, certainly, are marked not only by civil wisdom but by a governing Christian purpose. The mind and spirit of the Emperor appear in them more distinctly than in his wars.

Of the eleven hundred and fifty articles known to Guizot he reckoned eighty-seven as being of moral legislation, two hundred and seventy-three of political, one hundred and thirty of penal, one hundred and ten of civil, eighty-five of religious, three hundred and five of canonical, seventy-three of domestic, and twelve of incidental occasional rules.[2] The initiative in these rules proceeded, of course, always from the Emperor,

[1] Decline and Fall, vol. vi. p. 239. London ed., 1848.

[2] See the Analytic Table in Guizot, "Hist. de la Civil.," tom. ii. pp. 138–139. Paris ed. 1846. Instead of the 65 capitularies, with 1,150 articles recognized by Guizot as belonging to Charlemagne, Boretius ("Capitularia Regum Francorum") computes them at 113, containing 1,484 articles. The dates of many are uncertain, however, though some which have been attributed to following kings may perhaps be more justly ascribed to the great Emperor. The originals have for the most part long disappeared, and the copies are widely scattered.

Acta ista majoris momenti in palatio regio schedis membranaceis inscripta, atque ad universorum notitiam aut in placito publico proposita, aut per singulos archiepiscopatus episcopis, abbatibus et comitibus quæ populo proponerent transmissa, etc. . . . Et authentica quidem, sive palatina sive in provincias transmissa, omnia fere perierunt, excepta scilicet scheda teneræ membranæ hodie in monasterio S. Pauli in Karinthia superstite, et Riculfi archiepiscopi litteris encyclicis in monasterio S. Galli adservatis. At libri juris ecclesiastici vel mundani quibus capitularia inscripta habentur, complures tam in Germania et Italia quam in Gallia et marca Hispanica exarati, ad nostra usque tempora devenerunt. — Præf. Pertz: *Mon. Ger. Hist.*, tom. iii. p. xii.

while to him belonged the definitive decision, though an influence upon them may doubtless have been exerted by other minds.

To assist in the administration of affairs under these rules, and to keep himself informed of what needed his attention, Charlemagne sent imperial commissioners throughout his dominions, while he unweariedly traversed them himself, multiplying the impression in every quarter of his ever-present and unlimited authority. He protected yet regulated religion itself, with a strong bent toward securing sincerity in its teachers, and the useful effect of it on the people. He set forth an improved Book of Homilies for use in the churches. He presided in synods and directed their discussions, wrote letters of instruction or sharp admonition to abbots, bishops, on occasion to popes, looked after religious establishments, and as far as might be controlled their manners; while at the same time he sought diligently to stimulate industry and extend commerce, and undertook himself large public works, as the building of bridges, or the construction of the canal designed to connect the Rhine and the Danube. It marks almost equally the character of the man and that of his times that one of his capitularies insists emphatically on the duty of hospitality; that another enjoins it on each subject to govern himself by the precepts of God, doing Him service, since the Emperor cannot personally look after all; that another forbids the veneration of questionable saints; another proclaims that nobody must think that acceptable prayer can only be offered in one of three languages [Hebrew, Latin, Greek?], since God may be worthily adored in any tongue, and whoever asks for right things will be heard; while still another commands

that preaching be always of a sort which plain people can understand.

In manifold ways the great Emperor vigorously advanced the interests of learning. Though not perhaps able to write himself, certainly not with ease and skill, having acquired the art too late in life,[1] he undoubtedly read and spoke Latin and understood Greek, and he showed with constant stress his regard for good letters. He founded many schools, especially in connection with convents or cathedrals, and enjoined that in them no distinction be made between the son of the free-born and the son of the serf. He caused to be made the first grammar of the common dialect, with the first collection of German songs, reciting heroic German deeds.[2] He cultivated the arts, especially those of architecture and

[1] The words of Einhard [Eginhard] seem decisive as to the Emperor's inability to write, — except slowly, with difficulty: Nec patrio tantum sermone contentus, etiam peregrinis linguis ediscendis operam impendit. In quibus Latinam ita didicit, ut æque illa ac patria lingua orare sit solitus; Græcam vero melius intellegere quam pronuntiare poterat. . . . Discebat artem computandi et intentione sagaci siderum cursum curiosissime rimabatur. Temptabat et scribere tabulasque et codicellos ad hoc in lecto sub cervicalibus circumferre solebat, ut, cum vacuum tempus esset, manum litteris effigiendis adsuesceret. Sed parum successit labor præposterus ac sero inchoatus. — EINHARDI: *Vita Karoli M.*, cap. 25.

Ampère, however, believes this to apply only to the finer and more difficult style of writing practised by skilled copyists: "Je crois qu'il est question ici, non de la simple écriture, mais de la calligraphie." (Hist. Litt. sous Charl., p. 35, Paris ed., 1870.) In the Convent Library of the Abbey of St. Gall, near Constance, — perhaps the most famous school in Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries, — are preserved what purport to be tablets on which he wrote his difficult copies, the tablets being enclosed in ivory, elaborately carved, and set in metallic frames encrusted with precious stones. Some marginal notes, said to be by him, are also on a Psalter in the Imperial Library at Vienna.

[2] Omnium tamen nationum quæ sub eius dominatu erant jura quæ scripta non erant describere ac litteris mandari fecit. Item barbara et antiquissima carmina, quibus veterum regum actus ac bella canebantur,

music. It was by him that the Gregorian chant was introduced into central Europe, in place of the Ambrosian which had preceded it, and which only slowly gave way before it. Through his effort, and especially by the schools of music established by him, the churches became possessed of a richer ecclesiastical song, and to him we are indebted for an effect in this direction which has not ceased.[1]

Especially he sought to gather around himself men of fine parts and of eminent learning, that he might be instructed and the mind of his empire be enriched. So he brought Alcuin from England, Peter of Pisa and Paulus Diaconus from Italy, and associated with them Angilbert, Adalhard, Theodulf, and others, thus forming the "School of the Palace," in which all the learn-

scripsit, memoriæque mandavit. Inchoavit et grammaticam patrii sermonis. — *Vita Kar. M.*, cap. 29.

Ampère's comment on these efforts of the great Emperor is certainly a just one: "Cette idée de faire la grammaire d'un idiome réputé barbare, montre la supériorité d'un esprit qui ne se laissait pas fasciner par le mérite des langues d'antiquité, au point de ne pas comprendre que sa langue maternelle pouvait être cultivée. . . . On a vu qu'il fit recueillir de vieux chants nationaux; or, il fallait, pour concevoir une telle pensée, une grande hauteur et une grande liberté d'esprit." — *Hist. Litt. sous Charl.*, p. 38. Paris ed., 1870.

[1] Parmi les enseignemens que Charles prit à tâche d'introduire d'Italie en France, il mettoit beaucoup de prix à la musique de l'Église. C'étoit une conséquence de son zèle religieux. L'Église gallicane et germanique demeuroit attachée au chant ambrosien, de préférence au chant grégorien adopté à Rome. . . . Mais Charles leur imposa silence en leur faisant observer que l'eau d'une rivière étoit plus pure à sa source que dans les canaux qui en sont dérivés, et que Rome étant la source de toute sagesse divine, il falloit réformer le rite gallican sur le rite romain. Il se fit ensuite donner par Adrien deux maîtres de chant; il en garda un pour sa chapelle, qu'il conduisit avec lui de province en province; il voulut que l'autre fût stationnaire à Metz, afin d'y fonder, pour toute la France, une école de chant ecclésiastique. — SISMONDI: *Hist. des Français*, tom. ii. pp. 322–323. Paris ed., 1821.

ing of the time was designed to be represented, and in which he with his household became scholars. He collected also a library, limited, of course, in the number of its manuscripts, but for the time costly and precious. He studied rhetoric for himself, with mathematics and astronomy, was conversant with the sacred writings, and read Augustine with delight, especially the "De Civitate Dei." The French language took strong impulse to development in his time, the earliest written exhibition of which is found by historians in the oath taken by Louis of Germany toward Charles the Bald, A.D. 842. Even Gibbon admits, who is usually frigid and unfriendly toward the Emperor, that his "encouragement of learning reflects the purest and most pleasing lustre on the character of Charlemagne." [1]

Not France alone, or Germany, took impression from this extraordinary man. He largely influenced England, while he towered over the Continent as Mont Blanc over the lesser peaks and ridges rising around it. It has been supposed to be in remembrance of him that long after his death the epithet "Magnus," incorporate with his name, continued a frequent individual designation in the far Scandinavia. The East as well as the West honored his pre-eminence; and Haroun Al Raschid,

[1] Decline and Fall, vi. 241.

Ozanam's testimony is more justly emphatic: —

Dans ce long règne de Charlemagne, il faut admirer bien moins la force de son épée que celle de ses convictions. . . . Ce conquérant, ce législateur, ce souverain de vingt peuples mal unis, est possédé de la curiosité qui trouble le sommeil des savants. Au moment où il émeut tout l'Occident du bruit de ses premières victoires, il reprend en sous-œuvre ses études incomplètes. . . . Ce sont les occupations, non d'un sophiste couronné, inaccessible aux affaires comme les empereurs de Constantinople, mais du plus actif des hommes, qui mit fin à cinquante-trois expéditions militaires, et qui chaque année tenait en personne ses plaids généraux. — A. F. Ozanam: *La Civil. Chrét. chez les Francs*, pp. 625–626. Paris, 1872.

lord of Asia from Africa to India, sent ambassadors to him from his own magnificent capital of Bagdad, with presents of silken tents, an elephant, a water-clock, and the keys of the Holy Sepulchre.[1] When he was buried in the basilica reared by himself at Aix-la-Chapelle, in A. D. 814, still seated in death on a royal throne and arrayed in magnificent imperial robes, the universal feeling of Europe exalted him above all preceding monarchs. In spite of his personal frailties and sins the monks had visions of him ascending the shining golden stairs, attended by angels, to be welcomed by the Lord. When he was canonized, first by the Anti-Pope, Paschal Third, three and a half centuries later, A. D. 1166, and subsequently by Alexander Third, it was in deference to this wide, persistent, controlling impulse. Louis Ninth appointed an annual feast-day to commemorate him with triumphant and solemn service; and we, looking back with merely critical interest on his times and his career, can see that in an important sense it is true, — if he had been followed by others equal to himself it would have been in every sense true, — what an eloquent and judicious writer on the Roman Empire has recently said, that from the moment of his imperial coronation modern history begins.[2]

[1] Einhardi : Vita, 16. — The particular description of the clock, given by Einhard, or at least by the author of the Annals, is worth quoting for a light which it casts on the history of mechanical art : Fuerunt præterea munera præfati regis . . . necnon et horologium ex auricalco arte mechanica mirifice compositum, in quo duodecim horarum cursus ad clepsidram vertebatur, cum totidem æreis pilulis, quæ ad completionem horarum decidebant, et casu suo subjectum sibi cimbalum tinnire faciebant, additis in eodem ejusdem numeri equitibus, qui per duodecim fenestras completis horis exiebant, et impulsu egressionis suæ totidem fenestras, quæ prius erant apertæ, claudebant ; necnon et alia multa erant in ipso horologio, quæ nunc enumerare longum est. — *Annales*, an. 807.

[2] Bryce, The Holy Roman Empire, p. 49. London ed., 1876.

It is an old tradition on the Rhine that Charlemagne, looking from the windows of his palace at Ingelheim only scanty ruins of which now can be traced, observed that the snows melted first and the spring verdure earliest appeared on a particular summit across the river. "There, then," he said, "we will plant our vineyards;" and from that day to this the vines and the wines of the Rüdesheimer Berg have been famous in the world. The schools which he founded, with the Christian institutions which he quickened and regulated, marked the first outbreak of the spring-time in Europe after a tempestuous winter; and if bitter frosts had not afterward blighted the blossoming promise the Continent would have been filled, earlier than it was, with gladness and strength. The hope which he inspired never wholly passed away. It was the one power for good which subsequent disasters could not crush. A demonstration had been given, on a really colossal scale, of what was possible in European advancement. Something of this was still remembered amid the agony of darkness which followed. And I have referred so particularly to this reign of Charlemagne, not merely because it formed in itself an astonishing parenthesis in history, but because it was this, fundamentally, which made possible the career of a man like Bernard three centuries later. Those intervening centuries, however, were full of such a frightful chaos in Church and State as has never since been equalled or approached.

Louis, the son of Charlemagne, who before his father's death had received the diadem from his hand, retained nominally the same empire; but the regnant and unresting energy which before had filled its indefinite spaces being withdrawn, the fabric soon fell in bloody dissolution. Among the sons of Louis it was divided

by compact, you remember, after fierce conflicts. Through the failure of collateral branches, it was nominally and partially restored, toward the close of the century, under Charles the Fat, the most wretched of caricatures upon Charles the Great. When he had been deposed, for cowardice and fatuity, in A.D. 887, and after begging his bread from the rebels had died in lonely and abject misery, and been buried in a convent grave,[1] all semblance vanished of the former coherent empire, to reappear only after the lapse of three fourths of a century, under the plan and by the prowess of the German Otho.

With the failure of the Empire, the grand and sagacious plan of Charlemagne, who had sought and for the time had secured the territorial protection and governmental unity of a large part of Europe, found tremendous vindication. It became apparent that the Empire had not simply originated in personal ambition, though that of course had had its part in rearing the vast but temporary structure. It had had also a vital relation to the needs of the time; so that when it was gone the threatening forces against which it had raised a temporary bulwark broke forth upon its lands with fearfully wide and destroying violence. The interests to which it had given a transient guarantee were exposed thereafter, without protection, to the perils which it had limited or arrested; and the future, of which a real promise had lain in it, proved impossible to be reached except through winding and bloody paths. Barbarism rushed in from every side on the feeble beginnings of the better civilization. Learning ceased to be cherished, and the liberal arts which were beginning to germinate

[1] At Reichenau, near Constance.

withered like flowers in icy airs. Even Charlemagne's collection of German heroic songs is said to have been destroyed as impious by his successors. The schools established for popular training were almost as hopelessly scattered as was the School of the Palace. Armed enemies burst with a fury unrestrained upon the distributed nascent states, which had no longer strength to resist them. The African Saracens pillaged the coasts of the Mediterranean; they plundered Arles and Marseilles; they ravaged Corsica and Sardinia; they sacked and burned the monastery of Monte Cassino, the cradle of monachism in Europe; they burned Ostia and Civita Vecchia, and threatened Rome, so that Leo Fourth, in the middle of the ninth century, built a wall to protect the quarter of the city around St. Peter's, which is still called from him the Leonine city. He built, also, near the mouth of the Tiber, fortified towers, from one to the other of which chains were stretched to prevent the passage of piratical flotillas.

At the same time the Northmen, the sight of whose swift and daring ships in Mediterranean harbors had startled Charlemagne at the height of his power, and against whom armed vessels had been stationed at the mouths of French rivers, breaking forth from the populous Scandinavian coasts pierced into France, up the Rhine into Germany, despoiling and slaying on every side. In the ninth and tenth centuries nearly fifty incursions of the Northmen into France are historically recorded. Where the records are less frequent it is not improbably because convents had been destroyed, monks had fled, and their painful recitals had turned to ashes. The relentless ravagers pillaged Bordeaux so thoroughly that the archbishop was transferred by the Pope to Bourges, because his province had become

a desert.[1] They were at Amiens, Cambrai, Rouen, Liège, at Orléans, Tours, Toulouse, Nantes, at Trèves, Cologne, Bonn, and stabled their horses in the basilica at Aix. Chartres fell into their possession. Naples, Sicily, and the Greek coasts were visited by their fierce rapacity; and before the death of Charles the Fat they had laid siege to Paris,— then limited again to the island in the Seine,— and had been not beaten off but bought off, with a large money ransom and a free passage on the upper Seine, and into Burgundy. For nearly a century France continued to be devastated by them, till the wealthy province of Normandy having become theirs by cession from the crown, A. D. 911, their destroying irruptions were suspended. "From the fury of the Normans, Good Lord, deliver us," had become a familiar petition of worshippers in the North of Europe, as a similar prayer against the deadly arrows of the Hungarians had found place in the South.

The ravages of the Hungarians had been yet more dreadful than those of the Normans; and the memory of them still links itself, in a lurid association, with the national name so nobly represented in our time by Kossuth, Deák, and Andrássy. Composed of tribes of Scythian and Finnish origin, this people, with tents of skin, garments of fur, with scarified faces, and with the terrible Tartar bows which were their characteristic weapons,— though they used as well the sword, the spear, the battle-axe, and the breastplate,— migrating from the East, had broken into the parts of Pannonia which Charlemagne had subdued, and from thence at the close of the ninth century they swept like a whirlwind over Europe. "Such was their Scythian speed," says Gibbon, "that in a single day a circuit of fifty miles

[1] Sismondi, Hist. des Français, tom. iii. p. 210.

was stripped and consumed; . . . nor could any distance be secure against an enemy who, almost at the same moment, laid in ashes the Helvetian monastery of St. Gall and the city of Bremen on the shores of the Northern Ocean."[1] Then began the multiplication of walled towns in Europe. Over the southern provinces of France rolled unchecked the horrible flood. Crossing the Pyrennees, it broke into Spain. Italy was swept by it. The royal Pavia was burned, and almost its whole population was slain. To the bounds of Calabria the desolation extended. The savage invaders showed no mercy, as they asked none. Even cannibalism was attributed to them by the popular rumor. Their business was to slay every man; and if they spared women or children it was only to drag them into a captivity in the prospect of which death lost its terrors. For nearly forty years such raids of savage massacre continued, till the power of these enemies of all civilization was finally broken in great battles under Henry the Fowler and Otho. Afterward they subsided by slow degrees into stationary life; but up to nearly the last quarter of the tenth century the terror of the Hungarians was hardly for a day absent from the mind of Europe.

Meantime the Slavonic Wends and Czechs had renounced dependence on the Empire, and threatened its frontiers. All Europe was menaced with a swift and awful return of barbarism. Fear was so general and so oppressive that a dreadful apathy was born of it, an apathy which tended to social and governmental atrophy, and was only interrupted by disaster and convulsion. Population diminished; and the remark of Sismondi is literally true that in reading the scanty records

[1] Decline and Fall, vol. vii. p. 171. London ed., 1848.

one is struck by a prevailing feeling of solitude.[1] Harvests were neglected, forests widened. Aquitaine was ravaged by wolves. As Michelet has said, herds of deer seemed to have taken possession of France.[2] As nearly as is possible, perhaps, in extended human societies, a state of general anarchy was approached. Bryce has described it well in a few words: "No one thought of common defence or wide organization; the strong built castles, the weak became their bondsmen, or took shelter under the cowl. . . . The grand vision of a universal Christian empire was utterly lost in the isolation, the antagonism, the increasing localization of all powers; it might seem to have been but a passing gleam from an older and a better world."[3]

It was in this dreary and dangerous period that the Feudal System came, with an almost spontaneous and irresistible impulse, to wide development; and perhaps nothing illustrates more clearly both the needs of the time and the slavish or tyrannous temper presiding in it. Undoubtedly, the beginnings of this celebrated system may be traced further back, even to the primitive customs of Germanic and Gallic tribes. But it was finally articulated and firmly established only in and after the tenth century. The edict of Conrad Second at Milan, which is generally recognized as marking the full maturity of the system, was issued in A.D. 1037, when the organization of feudal servitudes became complete.

[1] L'extinction rapide de la population rurale fut la grande cause qui, sous le règne des Carlovingiens, ouvrit l'empire aux brigands qui le dévastèrent; . . . en lisant leur récit des événemens, il est impossible de n'être pas atteint d'un sentiment de solitude. — *Hist. de Français*, tom. iii. p. 279.

[2] Les bêtes fauves semblaient prendre possession de la France. — *Hist. de France*, tom. i. p. 397. Paris ed., 1835.

[3] Holy Roman Empire, p. 79. London ed., 1876.

The earliest written "customary," as it was called, or public code of feudal customs, was issued in France in A.D. 1088.[1] But the customs had many of them become established before, of which this list presents the record; and the fact that the vast elaborated system, whose influence was so wide both for evil and for good, came into development at that time, throws a vivid light both on its own nature and on those public dangers and needs out of which it arose. In studying it one is apt to get entangled in the teasing intricacies of its ultimate arrangements, and the multiplicity of its correlated "incidents." But the principle of it was utterly simple. The reciprocal obligation of protection on the one hand, and of service on the other, was its one essential element.

In ethical origin it was a military compact, express or implied, between lord and vassal, for their common defence. After a time it came to be held that every man not noble by birth was bound to attach himself to some special lord; and so the smaller free estates, or allodial lands, came under the feudal proprietorship, with the military protection, usually of the nearest and most powerful baron. Then the benefices, which had been royally conferred on principal nobles, making them governors in their provinces on condition of military service, became hereditary, constituting fiefs, at the head of which was duke, count, or marquis. On the one hand arose out of this the landed aristocracy, which has formed so striking a feature in the political system of Europe. On the other hand came the hereditary military aristocracy, which allowed no noble to exercise another trade than that of arms without "derogat-

[1] See Hallam, The Middle Ages, vol. i. pp. 165, 183. London ed., 1853.

ing," or surrendering the advantages of birth and rank. The land was held to ennoble its possessor; and surnames became common, to facilitate the tracing and the transmission of property and prerogative. For the same purpose armorial bearings were introduced, especially in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Even the higher clergy often became feudal nobles, and were engaged in actual war, though they might commonly discharge their feudal obligation by sending their vassals to the field, or by pecuniary equivalents; while those who in an earlier time had been free peasants came by degrees, under a force as inevitable as that which governs the flow of rivers, to be the bondsmen of the lords.

The whole system was an attempt, artificial, elaborate, yet at first almost without foresight of results, to organize feeble dispersed communities for mutual protection and local defence. It shows, in every part, that the safeguards of the Empire had been withdrawn. A wide and fruitful social development had been at least possible, at no distant day, if these had continued; and a large measure of regulated liberty would almost certainly have either attended or followed social progress. But when the empire disappeared, and the distributed populations broke up into multitudes of separated circles, the State was forgotten, the neighborhood became paramount, and the strongest was the natural chief. Voltaire put into few words the whole genius of the system, when he said that "each castle became the capital of a small kingdom of brigands, in the midst of desolate towns and depopulated fields."[1]

[1] Chaque château était la capitale d'un petit état de brigands; . . . les villes presque réduites en solitude, et les campagnes dépeuplées par de longues famines. — *Essai sur les Mœurs*, cap. xxxviii.

There was no longer any recognized commonwealth. The conception of it appeared an illusory dream of the world's youth which the hard necessities of life had driven from men's minds, while they hastened to shelter themselves, in frightened squads, upon or beneath the fortressed rocks. All laws became provincial or local. The emperor had been the "Lex Animata,"— the living and personal law of his realm. Now that counts or dukes had become local sovereigns, subject only to the feudal authority of the king which was often but nominal, there was no more attempt at general legislation or a system of public jurisprudence. Such an attempt first appears in an ordinance of Louis Eighth, A. D. 1223, concerning usury by the Jews.[1] Until then, and practically until many years later, no feudal tenant could be bound by a general law within the limits of his fief without his consent; and the multitudes of local regulations, appertaining to the various districts, sprang up almost as rapidly and as widely as did the subsequent millions of poppies on the battle-fields of France, out of a soil crimsoned and fertilized by the down-pour of blood.

Undoubtedly the system had certain advantages, and was not entirely unproductive of benefit. It at least saved Europe from being conquered and possessed by any one family of kings,— the multiplication of military centres and of local commanders making this impossible. It nurtured certain elements of character which claim our respect, as fealty to superiors, loyalty to custom, a sense of obligation to proximate authority; while by giving supremacy to local interests it doubtless wrought for the wider distribution of influences and tendencies out of which came the following civilization.

[1] Hallam, Middle Ages, vol. i. p. 221. London ed., 1853.

Very few things in this world are of unmixed evilness, and the Feudal System was not one of them. But, on the other hand, by narrowing men's views to their private security, or the protection of immediate neighborhoods, it tended more and more to dissociate communities. It gave enormous prominence to mere physical force. Its nobles, as Sismondi has said, "exercising the body without intermission, found it impossible to cultivate the mind, and came to count it a duty not to think."[1] Genius and character ceased to be conditions of influence. Only the ownership of land gave authority; and that ownership depended either on birth or on stiffness of muscle. Private wars became frequent and legal, and out of them easily and widely emerged promiscuous rapine. Commerce died under the system, except as it was concentrated and entrenched in powerful cities; and the popular industries, arts, and culture, which commerce would have fostered, were fettered or forbidden. The true relation of man to the planet was practically reversed. The land became the lord, the vassal was bound to it, and the haughtiest baron must "serve his fief."[2] Anything approaching public sentiment was of course impossible. No passion of patriotism could be known. The system was radically unserviceable for public advancement, and whatever of this was accomplished while it continued was accomplished in spite of it, by energetic forces in human nature which it could not destroy or wholly confine. It was ethically commended to those among whom it existed, it is now so commended to us, only by its fitness to guard Europe from the utter and irretrievable anarchy which without it must have succeeded the shat-

[1] Hist. des Français, tom. iv. p. 116.

[2] Michelet, Hist. de France, tom. ii. p. 164. Paris ed., 1835.

tered Empire. No other testimony appears to me so impressive to the awful evil and peril of the time — no song or story, no record or legend, no particular event, no special law — as does the fact that this enormous and oppressive establishment was the only barrier which Europe could raise against barbarism and paganism when Charlemagne's plans had failed of success. Those castles on the crags, with moats, drawbridges, frowning bastions, menacing banners, and with the small huddles of huts grouped around their rocky foundations, where terrified peasants found a partial security, and paid for it by submissive or compulsory compliance with oppressive exactions, — these attest not so much the cruelty of society, or its ambitions, as its fears. The shield of the Empire being withdrawn, only isolated rocks, guarded by men with lances and in mail, could take its place. No other asylum was really left, unless men sought it under the cowl.

It is to be remembered, also, that with such changes in the political and military system of Europe came at the same time a frightful development in the sphere of religion, — one which cannot be clearly understood except in connection with the preceding facts.

The World-empire had naturally had the World-religion associated with it, and had promised to be of that religion the sure protector, if also sometimes its salutary monitor. The capitularies of Charlemagne had not sought merely to revise and supplement, and to bring into measurable order and harmony, the rules and customs of the various peoples subjected to his rule; they had contemplated also, as I indicated before, the continuance, the support, with the practical and almost the doctrinal guidance of the ministers of religion. They contain articles, for example, on the admission

of freedmen into the spiritual order, and of slaves into monasteries; on the participation of the clergy in war; on the treatment of those sentenced to death, who should seek refuge in abbeys; on the value of external works; on amended manners, as the true ornament of the Church; against the use of amulets and divination, or the searching of the Scriptures for oracular responses. Under them for the first time the payment of tithes was made compulsory, so that pecuniary support was assured by the State to the teachers of Christianity. The Emperor sought, too, to confine the clergy to their spiritual functions, to bring the seculars among them into monastic life, and to keep the monasteries strictly subordinate to his authority. He settled sometimes the smallest matters of Church discipline, while he equally concerned himself with the larger questions of doctrinal belief.

It illustrates his attention to the matters of religion that he had the Homilarium prepared and distributed for use in the churches, with sermons arranged for Sundays and feast-days, and with a preface admonishing the clergy to the diligent study of the Scriptures. He interested himself actively and largely against the heretical theory of Adoptianism, and for the conversion from it of its chief representative, Felix, bishop of Urgellis.[1] He originated and shaped, if he did not compose, the famous "Caroline Books," containing wise counsels on the use of images in churches.[2] He favored the insertion of the "Filioque" in the Latin form of the Nicene Creed, as it had already appeared

[1] See Neander, Hist. of Christ. Relig., vol. iii. pp. 165–168.

[2] B. Caroli Mag. Capitulare de Imaginibus, compositum et publicatum in conc. Francoford, et Adriano Papæ missum, A. D. 794." — *Opera* [Migne], tom. ii. coll. 989–1350.

in the Athanasian, to represent the double procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son; and during his reign was held the synod at Aix-la-Chapelle, A.D. 809, before which he brought the question, and which decided in favor of the change. He thereupon sent messengers to Pope Leo Third, asking his sanction for it, to which the cautious pontiff made answer, in effect, that the doctrine represented by the clause was correct, but the change in the creed-form was not then expedient.[1] The Emperor had previously presided himself at the Synod of Frankfort, in A.D. 794, though legates from the Pope were present; and when that Synod, representing the French and German churches, had condemned the decrees of the Second Council of Nice, he caused a treatise to be drawn up, urging the soundness of its conclusions, and pressing Pope Adrian to affirm and enforce them. His letters to the pontiffs, especially to Leo, were by no means those of one who felt himself inferior in dignity. He gives instruction, admonition, and sometimes rebuke, with kingly freedom, and seems not indisposed to vindicate for himself the title which more than one had given him, not wholly in jest, "Episcopus Episcoporum."[2]

His son and successor Louis, so far as power remained to him, carried yet further this supervision of the clergy. He forbade bishops to retain their horses, arms, and military spurs, their belts thick with gems, and their elaborate and embroidered robes.[3] He sought

[1] See Schaff's Hist. of the Church, vol. iv. p. 482. New York ed., 1885.

[2] Alcuin spoke of him as "Decus Ecclesiæ, rector, defensor, amator;" "catholicus in fide, rex in potestate, pontifex in prædicatione, judex in æquitate, philosophus in liberalibus studiis, inclytus in moribus, et omni honestate præcipuus." — *Opera Alcuini* [Migne], tom. ii. coll. 780, 251.

[3] Michelet, Hist. de France, tom. i. p. 354, note; Paris ed., 1835:

strenuously to reform the monasteries, set forth in a volume the proper rules of canonical life, had copies of this made, and appointed commissioners to go with authority among and through religious houses, and bring nunneries and monasteries to the strict and sincere observance of their rules.

In all this, you observe, there was no immediate conflict developed between emperor and pontiff, the civil authority and the religious. The two moved as co-ordinate, on parallel lines, with easy co-operation. There was one religion for Western Christendom, with the Pope at its head; one government for it, with the anointed Emperor as ruler. The Pope was God's vicar on earth in things spiritual, the Emperor in things temporal. It might of course be anticipated that in the progress of time the emperor would come to be held the inferior, as things temporal are confessedly less important than things spiritual; but in Charlemagne's period no such distinction had appeared. His imperial consecration by the Pope, coming, as he said, unexpectedly,[1] had implied no temporal dependence for the crown on the pontiff who conveyed it; and Louis the Débonnaire, by his command, had with his own hands at first assumed the crown, as if expressly to negative the notion of such dependence. A certain distinctly clerical character was in fact communicated to the emperor by his coronation. He became a secular pope, as the pontiff was a spiritual emperor. The con-

Tunc cœperunt deponi ab episcopis et clericis cingula balteis aureis et gemmeis cultris onerata, exquisitæque vestes, sed et calcaria talos onerantia relinqui.

[1] Quo tempore imperatoris et augusti nomen accepit. Quod primo in tantum aversatus est, ut adfirmaret, se eo die, quamvis præcipua festivitas esset, ecclesiam non intraturum, si pontificis consilium præscire potuisset. — EINHARDI : *Vita Karoli M.*, cap. 28.

senting action of both was held to be essential to the welfare of Christendom. In Charlemagne's time, and that of his son, the Empire did protect, extend, and purify religion. In this was a source and an evidence of its strength. At the same time that it regulated monks and prelates, and gave earnest exhortation to pontiffs, its conquests opened larger opportunities to the missionary zeal which never had failed, and carried Christianity, in the form in which it then was presented, not only to Wittekind and the Saxons, but to the Slavonians, and to the Chagan of the Avars. Every Christian was held to owe loyalty to the head of the Empire, as the Defender of the Church, and the Protector of the Catholic faith; and the unity of the Church found its counterpart in the unity of the State.

So this was called "The Holy Roman Empire;" and while it continued all felt that Christianity took from it security, energy, and imperial eminence. The recent rise of Mohammedanism in the East, with its threatening pressure on Eastern Christendom, had brought the governing religion of the West into bolder relief before men's minds. The severance from the Greek church, not yet complete but ripening toward the final schism, had made the church whose headship was in Rome more affirmative and self-conscious; and it naturally came to pass that while the pope leaned on the emperor, the emperor felt it to be his mission to guard and to extend the Church; and the combined action of both gave apparently the surest guarantee of the progress of the cause which all Christians had chiefly at heart.

The Empire fell; and with the civil disturbances which followed came religious dissension, decline, degradation, still more appalling. Whether or not we can trace a direct relation of the one as cause to the other

as effect, the dreadful sequence cannot be denied; and only as we hold it clearly in mind can we understand to how low a point the moral life of Europe descended. One feels almost, in reading the foul and frightful annals, as if the ancient Pagan temper, driven into the air or trodden into the soil before the armies of the Empire, had settled back densely and heavily upon Europe, and was infecting and poisoning the very springs of spiritual life. The atmosphere of society was not merely obscured by superstition, it reeked with all manner of pestilent forces. This was not true in forests and fields alone, or in remote hamlets. At Rome itself, centre of Christendom, the vilest vices of the times of Tiberius or of Caligula fiercely reappeared. It is almost incredible, the extent to which a frightful corruption there prevailed. The annalists of the Roman Church stand aghast before it. "The Pornocracy," or reign of Harlots, is the terrible name by which a part of it is most accurately described. Milman's explanation of the terrific development is temperate and brief: "This anarchy of Italy led to the degradation of the Papacy; the degradation of the Papacy increased the anarchy of Italy. . . . Europe was resolutely ignorant what strange accidents, caprices, crimes, intrigues, even assassinations, determined the rise and fall of the Supreme Pontiff."[1] No Protestant prepossessions color this picture. Even the learned and scrupulous Mabillon had to confess that most of the popes of the tenth century "lived rather like monsters, or like wild beasts, than like bishops."

Prior to the violent taking of the papal chair by Sergius Third, A. D. 904, there had been nine popes in thirteen years. One had died so hated that after his

[1] Hist. Latin Christianity, vol. iii. p. 152. New York ed., 1860.

death his body was disinterred, stripped, mutilated, and thrown into the Tiber, while those who had been ordained by him were compelled to be reordained. His successor had been already twice deposed from the clerical office for scandalous wickedness, and died in a fortnight after being made pope. His successor was strangled in prison.

The popes who followed reigned only a few months each; and Leo Fifth, A.D. 903, in less than two months was thrown into prison by one of his own presbyters, who thereupon took his place, to be in turn, within a year, ignominiously expelled. Under Sergius came to power the famous trio of courtesans: Theodora the mother, and her daughters Theodora and Marozia, as dissolute as herself, who for years afterwards governed the pontificate, bestowing it on their lovers or bastard sons. It is not possible fully to tell the story of the time. One or two instances must suffice as indications. One of the favorites of the elder Theodora had been made successively Bishop of Bologna and Archbishop of Ravenna. By her agency he was made pontiff, A.D. 914, under the name of John Tenth.[1] He proved an able and martial pope, himself leading an army successfully against the Saracens. But after fourteen years, Marozia, whom Liutprand called "a drunken Venus,"[2] had him surprised in the Lateran Palace,

[1] Theodora scortum impudens . . . quod dictu etiam fedissimum est, Romanæ civitatis non inviriliter monarchiam obtinebat. Quæ duas habuit natas, Marotiam atque Theodoram, sibi non solum coequales verum etiam Veneris exercitio promptiores. . . . Theodoræ autem glycerii mens perversa, ne amasii sui ducentorum miliariorum interpositione, quibus Ravenna sequestratur Roma, rarissimo concubitu potiretur, Ravenate hunc sedis archipresulatum coegit deserere, Romanumque, pro nefas, summum pontificium usurpare. — LIUTPRANDI: *Antapod.*, lib. ii. 48.

[2] Respondes, scio, tu: "Nichil hoc Venus ebria curat." — *Ibid.* iii. 44.

thrown into prison, and a little later suffocated with pillows. Shortly after, a son of hers, whose reputed father was Pope Sergius, was raised to the papacy under the title of John Eleventh,[1] who, however, by another more legitimate son of hers, was ere long cast into prison, where he languished till his death four years later. At last came John Twelfth, the grandson of the same licentious woman, raised to the papacy at the age of nineteen, A.D. 956, of whom no account can be given which would not sully the page and shock the ear. According to the testimony of his contemporary churchmen, he turned the pontifical palace into a vast school of prostitution. Devout women from distant countries were deterred from making pilgrimage to the tomb of Saint Peter by the justified fear of nameless outrage. A synod at Rome, composed principally of German, Tuscan, French, and Lombard prelates, but at which bishops and priests of the neighborhood were also present, received testimony against him from high ecclesiastics as well as from laymen, accusing him of simony, cruelty, promiscuous licentiousness, of homicide, perjury, sacrilege, of incest in his own family, of drinking wine to the honor of the Devil, of invoking the aid of Pagan gods to give a favorable turn to the dice. In reply the Pope swore by Almighty God that if they elected another pontiff he would excommunicate them all; to which they replied with the sharp answer

[1] Cumque die quadam papa cum fratre paucisque aliis in Lataranensi palatio esset, Widonis et Marociæ super eos milites irruentes, Petrum fratris ipsius ante oculos interfecerunt; eundem vero papam comprehendentes, custodie manciparunt, in qua non multo post est defuntus. Aiunt enim, quod cervical super os eius imponerent, sicque eum pessime suffocarent. Quo mortuo, ipsius Marotiæ filium Johannem nomine, quem ex Sergio papa meretrix ipsa genuerat, papam constituunt. — LIUTPRANDI: *Antapod.*, iii. 43.

that Judas had had apostolic power to bind and loose as long as he was faithful, but that when he became a greedy murderer he could bind or loose nobody but himself, and could only tie the knot in the cord that hanged him.[1]

This foul desperado was finally murdered, as was currently reported, in an adulterous rendezvous, by the dagger of the injured husband, and died without sacraments. But others who followed him, though scarcely rivalling his incomparable wickedness, brought fearful shame to the pontificate. Benedict Fifth was degraded and banished. Benedict Sixth was strangled in a dungeon. A usurper, Boniface, assumed the papacy, but was soon compelled to fly, carrying off with him the sacred vessels of St. Peter's. He returned, however, to murder the Pope who had taken his place as Benedict Seventh, putting him to death in the castle of St. Angelo, either by poison or by starvation. And at last came Benedict Ninth, in the earlier half of the eleventh century, A.D. 1033, raised to the papacy at the age of twelve years by heavy bribery, whom one of his own successors in the office, Victor Third, declared to have led a life so foul and execrable that he shuddered

[1] Noveritis itaque, non a paucis, sed ab omnibus tam nostri quam et alterius ordinis, vos homicidii, perjurii, sacrilegii, et ex propria cognatione atque ex duabus sororibus incesti crimine esse accusatos. Dicunt et aliud auditu ipso horridum, diaboli vos in amore vinum bibisse ; in ludo aleæ Jovis, Veneris, ceterorumque demonum auxilium poposcisse. . . . Testis omnium gentium preter Romanarum absentia mulierum, quæ sanctorum apostolorum limina orandi gratia timent visere, cum nonnullas ante dies paucos hunc audierint conjugatas, viduas, virgines, vi oppressisse. — LIUTPRANDI : *Hist. Ottonis*, 12, 4.

Quamdiu enim bonus inter condiscipulos fuit, ligare atque solvere valuit; postquam vero cupiditatis causa homicida factus, vitam omnium occidere voluit, quem postea ligatum solvere aut solutum ligare potuit, nisi se ipsum, quem infelicissimo laqueo strangulavit ? — *Ibid.* 13.

to describe it;[1] of whom Raoul Glaber, writing at the time, blushed to record the shame of his entrance on his office, the vileness of his conduct, the infamy of his exit.[2] Driven from the pontifical chair by an irresistible tumult of popular disgust, he regained it by bloody violence, and excommunicated the bishop who had been put into his place. At last he sold the office itself, which he seems to have valued only for the liberty which it gave to his vices, and Gregory Sixth purchased the dignity.[3] There were at one time three popes reigning in Rome, who were all deposed by the Emperor Henry Third, and to whom a successor was appointed.[4]

It was of pontiffs like these whose character I have faintly indicated that the Bishop of Orléans said, at the Council of Rheims, A.D. 991, after reciting the crimes

[1] Cujus quidem post adeptum sacerdotium vita quam turpis, quam fœda, quamque execranda extiterit, horresco referre. See Milman's Hist. of Latin Christ., vol. iii. p. 230, note.

[2] Ipso quoque in tempore Romana Sedes, quæ universalis jure habetur in orbe terrarum, præfato morbo pestifero per viginti quinque annorum spacia miserrime laboraverat. Fuerat enim eidem Sedi ordinatus quidam puer circiter annorum XII. contra jus fasque; quem scilicet sola pecunia auri et argenti plus commendavit, quam ætas aut sanctitas; et quoniam infelicem habuit introitum, infeliciorem persensit exitum. Horrendum quippe referre, turpitudo illius conversationis et vitæ. Tunc vero tum consensu totius Romani populi, atque ex præcepto Imperatoris, ejectus est a Sede, et in loco ejus subrogatus est vir religiosissimus ac sanctitate perspicuus Gregorius natione Romanus; cujus videlicet bona fama quicquid prior fœdaverat in melius reformavit. — *Hist. sui temp.*, lib. v. cap. 5.

[3] Desiderius, Abbot of Monte Cassino, afterward Victor Third, wrote: "Cumque se a clero simul et populo propter nequitias suas contemni respiceret, et fama suorum facinorum omnium aures impleri cerneret, tandem reperto consilio, qui voluptati deditus ut Epicurus magis quam pontifex vivere malebat, cuidam Joanni archi-presbytero . . . non parva ab eo accepta pecunia summum sacerdotium relinquens tradidit." See Neander's Hist. of Christ. Religion, vol. iii. p. 376, note.

[4] Benedict IX. officiated at St. John Lateran; Sylvester III. in St. Peter's; Gregory VI. in St. Maria Maggiore.

of John Twelfth: "Is it a settled matter that to such monstrous brutes, utterly destitute of all knowledge of things human and divine, innumerable priests, distinguished throughout the world for their wisdom and the temper of their lives, are to be subjected? For what do we hold him who sits blazing with purple and gold, on a lofty throne? If he lacks love, and is only inflated with knowledge, he is Antichrist, sitting in the temple of God. If he shows neither love nor knowledge, he is like a statue, like an idol, to seek counsel from whom is like consulting a block of marble."[1] Confusion and degradation naturally extended throughout the Church, from such excess of evilness at the head. Rome had come to be the most vicious and wretched city of a depraved and miserable land. No public works were carried on in it; artistic activities disappeared; the classical monuments were ruthlessly destroyed.[2] A darkness, noisome and intolerable, radiated from it. As when in the smitten river of Egypt the fish died in the bloody waves, and frogs came from it into houses and bed-chambers, so from Rome, whose mission had been to christianize the Continent, all spiritual plagues came swarming forth. Men like Hugh of Provence, foul with all crimes, bestowed great bishoprics on bastard sons.

[1] Nam talibus monstris ignominia plenis, scientia divinarum et humanarum vacuis, innumeros sacerdotes Dei per orbem terrarum, scientiâ et vitæ mente conspicuos subjici decretum est? . . . Quid hunc, Reverendi Patres, in sublimi solio residentem, veste purpurea et aurea radiantem, quid hunc, inquam, esse censetis? — Si charitate destituitur totaque scientia inflatur et extollitur, Antichristus est in templo Dei sedens, et se ostendens tanquam sit Deus. Si autem nec charitate fundatur nec scientia erigitur, in templo Dei tanquam statua, tanquam idolum est; a quo responsa petere, marmora consulere est. — *Synodus Remensis*, pp. 60–61.

[2] See Hemans, Sacred Art in Italy, vol. i. pp. 41–44, 56. London ed., 1869.

Barons conferred abbeys and bishoprics on their infant children. A child only five years old was made Archbishop of Rheims. Another was put by purchase into the See of Narbonne at the age of ten.[1] The father, in such cases, took the authorizing letters in the name of the child, ruled the diocese, and clutched the price of unsaid masses. Churches were bequeathed to daughters as their dowries. Simony was a general curse in the churches, since it was the common impression in Europe that at Rome everything was venal, and while men reprobated the example they followed it.[2] When Hildebrand was subsequently appointed director of the great monastery of St. Paul, outside the gates of Rome, he found cattle stabled in the basilica, and the monks waited on in the refectory by abandoned women. Perjury was so common as almost wholly to escape punishment. To a fearful extent drunkenness was the habit in monasteries, and vices viler than drunkenness were common. Robbery was the business of a large part of society, and brigandage infested the public roads. Christians were sold in the Saracen slave-markets.[3] Learning was regarded as akin to magic. A church-

[1] See Hallam, Middle Ages, vol. ii. p. 172. London ed., 1853. Robertson notices also the fact that the Count of Vermandois, who secured the election of the boy five years old at Rheims, was suspected of having poisoned the previous archbishop in order to make the vacancy for the child. Hist. of the Church, vol. ii. p. 384. London ed. 1856.

[2] Gerbert said, afterward pope: "Romanorum mores mundus perhorrescit." A striking illustration of the prevalence of simony is mentioned by Sismondi (Hist. des Français, tom. iv. pp. 299–301), where the Archbishops of Rheims and Sens, the Bishops of Nevers, Constance, Nantes, Langres, Beauvais, Amiens, with the Abbot of St. Médard at Soissons, were all constrained to confess that they had either bought their places, or had entered them through purchase by their parents. [A. D. 1049.]

[3] See Hallam, Middle Ages, vol. iii. p. 316; also, pp. 303, 309, 314. London ed., 1853.

penance made amends for any other sin almost more easily than for that.

At this time began perhaps, certainly at this time were widely accepted, those scandalous irregularities in worship which frequently continued into later periods,— like the "*fête des sous-diacres*" at Paris, where tipsy priests elected a Bishop of Unreason, offered incense of burnt leather, sang obscene songs, and ate upon the altar; like that at Evreux, where the priests wore their surplices wrong side out, and threw bran in each other's eyes;[1] like those of which Strutt makes mention in his "Sports and Pastimes," — when in each of the cathedral churches a bishop or an archbishop of fools was elected, in those dependent on the Holy See a pope of fools, for whom mock ecclesiastics were provided, with ridiculous dresses, and around whom a motley crowd, while service was proceeding, sang indecent songs in the choir, ate, drank, and played with dice on the altar, afterward putting filth into the censers, and receiving a benediction from the mock bishop or pope. Usually, these vicious spectacles occurred on Christmas-day or near it; but sometimes on other feast-days. When they were exhibited on St. Stephen's day, commemorating him whose face had shined as the face of an angel, and who had led toward heaven "the noble army of martyrs," a burlesque composition called the "Prose of the Ass" was sung as part of the mass, performed by a double choir, with the sound of the braying of an ass introduced as a refrain.[2] Customs of this kind are not extemporized, and do not suddenly establish themselves in the liking of large communities, and in acceptance

[1] Michelet, Hist. de France, tom. ii. p. 99, note. Paris ed., 1835.

[2] Sports and Pastimes, pp. 345–346. London ed., 1831. See also "British Monachism," by T. D. Fosbrooke, pp. 46–47. London ed., 1843.

by religious houses. They seem natural outgrowths of an age like that the character of which I have sought to indicate.

The belief in the power of the Pagan gods reappeared in Christian Europe. As late as the middle of the eleventh century the story was credited that when a young Roman noble, about to engage in play in the Coliseum, had taken from his finger his marriage ring and put it on the finger of a statue of Venus, the bronze had suddenly closed upon it, and would not relinquish it till the aid of a monk had been invoked who was a magician, and who, induced by a heavy bribe, compelled a demon with whom he had dealings to obtain the restitution of the ring by the goddess.[1] One of the popes, even, and one of the best and wisest in the series, was popularly believed to have been a magician,— Sylvester Second, the first pontiff of French origin. He had been a student of algebra and geometry, in connection with them had corresponded with learned Saracens, and had himself studied at Cordova. He had written a brief treatise on geometry, containing instructions for measuring the height of a tower by its shadow, for calculating the depth of wells, and for solving other simple problems. He had constructed at Rheims a mechanical clock and a hydraulic organ.[2] He had lectured on logic, music, astronomy. He had expounded the Latin poets and satirists. It was easily believed that to gain such unusual and difficult knowledge he had sold himself to the devil, and that in his death the demon triumphed.[3] William of Malmesbury, writing in the

[1] William of Malmesbury, De Gestis Regum, lib. ii. § 205.

[2] This might almost seem to have been an organ operated by steam, from the description "per aquæ calefactæ violentiam," etc.

[3] "Homagium diabolo fecit, et male finivit."

century following the death of Sylvester, relates particularly the rumors about him: that he had learned from the Saracens what the flight and the singing of birds portended; that he had acquired the art of calling up spirits from Hell; that he had found at Rome a subterranean golden palace, with a golden king and queen, and golden soldiers, playing games with golden dice, with a carbuncle in the recesses of the palace emitting a lustre which turned the darkness into day; that he had made the head of a statue which always told him the truth, but through a misunderstanding of one of whose answers he came to his death.[1] That such stories had lived so long, and travelled so widely, shows, as almost nothing else could, how utter were the darkness and the decay of the time in which they had their start.

Indeed, it is nearly impossible to overstate the mental obscurity, the moral disorder, the almost complete extinction of true and noble religious life among priests and people, in the two centuries which followed the death of Charlemagne. What Montalembert has said of the fifth century might with almost equal propriety be applied to this period: "Confusion, corruption, despair, and death were everywhere; social dismemberment seemed complete. Authority, morals, arts, sciences, religion herself, might have been supposed condemned to irremediable ruin."[2] A certain promise had reappeared when Otho of Germany became emperor, A.D. 962; but the partial empire then re-erected could not, in the nature of things, have the wide and determinate energy which had belonged to Charlemagne's, and the downward drift of the time was not effectively

[1] De Gestis Regum, lib. ii. §§ 169, 172.

[2] Monks of the West, vol. ii. p. 3. London ed., 1861.

interrupted. Hugh Capet had come to the throne in France in A.D. 987, with whom the France since famous in the world began to be; but his power was restricted, as was that of his successors for a century and a half, and no sharp limit could be put by it to priestly wrong, to the oppressions of secular nobles, or to popular superstitions and violence.[1] Four distinct kingdoms then existed within the territory of France, with fifty-five separate fiefs. Each fortress had its prison, with often its torture-chamber and oubliette. There was no appeal to a sovereign authority, and no accessible redress for wrongs; and though there were learned and virtuous bishops, in Germany especially, pious monks, devout nuns, many signal examples of a God-fearing laity, the Church at large seemed almost to have become an immense establishment for the gratification of the pride of the ambitious, the greed of the covetous, the depraved tastes of the luxurious and licentious. Those acquainted with the "Annals" of Baronius will remember the striking argument for the Divine authority of the Papal Church which he founds on the fact that it continued, and still extended, in spite of such monstrous iniquities, abhorred of all men, which for generations were enthroned at the head of it, staining it, he admits, with ineffaceable defilements.[2] It seemed as if no hope were left of any return to better things.

[1] Le pouvoir royal et le pouvoir national avoient été simultanément anéantis. . . . Pendant les sept ou huit premières années du règne de Robert II., l'autorité royale étoit si complètement détruite en France, que la suite des actions du roi, quand on les connoîtroit dans le plus grand détail, ne nous donneroit aucune sorte d'idée de l'administration du pays. — SISMONDI: *Hist. des Français*, tom. iv. p. 84.

[2] Quis ista considerans non miretur, et obstupescat, dum quo tempore . . . ipsa Romana Ecclesia casura, et interitura penitus videri potuisset, tot improbis, sceleratis, impudicis, prædonibus, invasoribus, sanguinariis et grassatoribus hoc sæculo (ut audisti) Sedem Apostolicam invadentibus, eamque

At just this time, too, at the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh centuries, fell upon Europe that awful dread of the proximate end of the world, the traces of which are vividly stamped on ancient charters,[1] the shock of which seemed the only thing which could possibly be added to complete the frightful chaos of the time. The long tragedy of the tenth century reached in this its indescribable climax.

This expectation of the near appearance of the Lord in the heavens to judge the world had been founded, no doubt, on the interpretation commonly given to the twentieth chapter of the Apocalypse, where Satan is represented as bound for a thousand years, then to be loosed for a season to deceive the nations and gather them against the Church, after which the great white Throne was to be set, with Him upon it before whose face the heavens and the earth should flee away. By multitudes this was expected to take place at the end of a thousand years from the birth of the Lord; and as the time drew nearer the expectation widened, till it became a general terror. As early as A.D. 909 this coming end of the world had been proclaimed by a council.[2] It had been vehemently declared at the Diet

depravatis moribus conspurcantibus, tam vitioso in primis ingressu, quam detestando pravorum morum exemplo, qua etiam occasione ejus dominium sibi Imperatores vendicantes, . . . eodem tempore externi longe positi veniant Reges ad Apostolicam Sedem, quam recognoscant, et venerentur unicum orbis templum, asylum pietatis, columnam et firmamentum veritatis, etc., etc. Quis inquam ista prudens expendens, non cognoscat Romanam Ecclesiam, non hominum arbitrio regi, qui eam sæpius perdere laboravint, sed imperio Christi disponi, et divinis promissionibus custodiri? — *Annal. Ecclesiast.*, tom. xvi. p. 407. Lucae, 1744.

[1] Charters of gifts to churches often began: "Mundi termino adpropinquante, ruinisque crebrescentibus."

[2] Dum jam jamque adventus imminet illius in majestate terribili, ubi omnes cum gregibus suis venient pastores in conspectum Pastoris

of Würzburg. Toward the end of the century it had been publicly preached at Paris.[1] The general aspect of the times favored the impression, and powerfully inclined men to expect the catastrophe. Such was the state of society that it easily seemed as if chains were being shaken from the loosened limbs of apostate angels, as if the shames and wrongs which desolated Europe were the effect of that immortal malice which God had long curbed, but which He now for secret reasons again set free. Unusual and startling natural events reinforced the impression, and appeared to predict the coming dissolution of the existing frame of things. Sismondi remarks, with great justice, that believers were in the mental condition of a condemned person whose days are numbered, and who sees the time of execution approaching. All prudence was discouraged, all care of one's estate, all preparation for future years. "Particularly," he adds, "it rendered quite absurd the labor of writing a history, or any chronicles, for the benefit of a posterity which was never to see the light."[2] But one writing a little later, like Raoul

Æterni," etc. (Concil. Troslej). — GIESELER: *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 159, note. New York ed. 1865.

[1] One who heard the sermon (Abbo, Abbot of Fleury) testified: "De fine quoque mundi coram populo sermonem in Ecclesia Parisiorum adolescentulus audivi, quod statim, finito mille annorum numero, Antichristus advenerit, et non longo post tempore, universale Judicium succederet." Quoted by Baronius, who also says: "Fuerant ista in Galliis promulgata, ac primum prædicata Parisiis, jamque vulgata per orbem, credita a compluribus, accepta nimirum a simplicioribus cum timore, a doctioribus vero improbata." (Annal. Ecclesiast., tom. xvi. pp. 410–411.)

[2] Elle tenoit tous les fidèles dans la situation d'esprit d'un condamné dont les jours sont comptés et dont le supplice approche; elle décourageoit de toute prudence, de tout soin de son patrimoine, de tout préparatif pour l'avenir; et en particulier, elle rendoit presque ridicule le travail d'écrire une histoire ou des chroniques, pour l'avantage d'une postérité qui

(Rodulph) Glaber, could put on record what he himself had seen, or what had been currently reported in immediately preceding years, and through his eyes we may still look on the frightful scene.[1] At an abbey in Orléans, A. D. 988, according to him, the figure of Christ on the cross was seen to weep copiously, announcing coming disaster to the city. A little later a desolating fire broke out in that city, sweeping before it houses and churches in general ruin. Similar fires afterward occurred in many cities, and especially in Rome. A terrible plague appeared, with secret fires consuming and detaching from the body the living members of those attacked, and doing its terrible work in a night. An immense dragon was seen in the air, flying from north to south, terrifying men with its noise and its gleam. A shower of stones fell near Joigny, of different sizes, piling themselves in heaps, still to be seen there when he wrote. A strange comet appeared, visible for many weeks, seeming to fill with its menacing light a large part of heaven, but disappearing at cock-crow. A terrible famine descended upon almost the whole Roman world, lasting five years, in which cannibal horrors appeared, children even devouring their mothers and mothers their children in the frenzy of hunger. The Saracens reappeared in Spain. Heresies broke out in Italy and elsewhere.[2] One might easily believe, as he

ne devoit jamais voir le jour. — *Hist. des Français*, tom. iv. p. 87. Paris ed. 1823.

[1] It is not known when he was born. His chronicle was finished in A. D. 1047, and he was still living in A. D. 1048. Some things indicate that he was by birth a Burgundian. Early received into a monastery, where he had a brief and stormy career, he was afterward successively in five or six similar establishments, and is supposed to have died at Clugni, to whose famous abbot, Odilon, his book was dedicated. See Hist. Littéraire de la France, tom. vii. p. 399. Paris ed. 1746.

[2] Hist. sui temporis, lib. ii. cap. 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12; iii. 3.

reports that they did who were the unhappy witnesses of the griefs, tears, sobs, lamentations in the midst of such disastrous scenes, that the order of the seasons and the laws of the elements were about to be buried in eternal chaos, and that the end of the race was at hand.[1]

These closing words of the monk were written probably at a later day, for, even after the tenth century had closed without bringing the expected destruction of the world, the same terrific expectation, though perhaps in a measure relieved, was not dispelled. It was then widely feared that the thousand years should have been reckoned from the passion of Christ, not from his birth; and that so A. D. 1033 was the year appointed for the predestined end. In the last of these years the gloomiest portents seemed to reappear in heaven and earth. The lands were deluged with perpetual rains, so that it was useless to sow in the drowned fields, and the elements appeared at war among themselves, or divinely commissioned to punish the surpassing insolence of man. A famine followed, more awful than had been previously known; in which Greece, Italy, France, England, were involved; in which men ate earth, weeds, roots, the bark of trees, vermin, dead bodies; and in which a more general cannibalism than had before been seen came to prevail, children and adults being murdered to be eaten, and human flesh being almost openly sold in the markets.[2] The multitude of the dead was so

[1] Quantus enim dolor tunc, quanta mœstitia, qui singultus, qui planctus, quæ lacrymæ a talia cernentibus datæ sint, . . . non valet stylus quispiam explicare characteribus. Æstimabatur enim ordo temporum et elementorum præterita ab initio moderans secula in chaos decidisse perpetuum, atque humani generis interitum.— *Hist. sui temporis*, lib. iv. cap. 4.

[2] Multi quoque de loco ad locum famem fugiendo pergentes hospitiis recepti, noctuque jugulati, quibus suscepti sunt, in cibum fuerunt; pleriqueque vero pomo ostenso vel ovo pueris, ad remota circumventos trucidatos-

great that they could not be buried, and wolves flocked to feast on their bodies. Great numbers were tumbled promiscuously into vast trenches. A state of fierce cannibal savagery appeared likely to mark the end of a fallen and ruined race, for which the Lord had died in vain. It was not wonderful that men following their dead relations to the grave sometimes cast themselves into it, to end at once their intolerable life.

Looking back to that period it seems evident that the mind of a large part of Europe was in a state of semi-delirium. Common life was made up of marvelous things, as Michelet has said,[1] it was not merely interrupted by them; and such marvels took usually the shape of mysteries of darkness. Apparitions were seen in the daytime. Strange voices were heard in the air. Legends arose in ghastly aspects. Monks saw demons, like those which appeared to Raoul himself, of one of which he has left a particular description, as he saw the hideous mannikin at the foot of his bed, with its slim neck, coal-black eyes, narrow and wrinkled forehead, flat nose, lips puffed out, sharp-pointed ears, filthy and stiff hair, dog's teeth, etc.,— as he felt the bed shaken by its touch, and heard it say, "Thou wilt not tarry here long."[2] Such dismal fancies were

que devoraverunt; corpora defunctorum in locis plurimis ab humo evulsa nihilominus fami subvenerunt, *et seq.* — R. GLABER : *Hist. sui temporis*, lib. iv. cap. 4.

[1] Les merveilles composaient la vie commune. — *Hist. de France*, tom. ii. p. 133.

[2] Erat enim, quantum a me dignosci potuit, statura mediocris, collo gracili, facie macilenta, oculis nigerrimis, fronte rugosa et contracta, depressis naribus, os exporrectum, labellis tumentibus, mento subtracto et perangusto, barba caprina, aures hirtas et præacutas capillis, stantibus et incompositis, dentibus caninis, *et seq.*; totum terribiliter concussit lectulum, ac deinde infit; Non tu in hoc loco ultra manebis. — *Hist. sui temp.* lib. v. cap. 1.

Other instances of such apparitions follow in the chapter.

not limited to the cloister. The army of Otho the Great had seen the sun fading in Calabria, and had been seized with terrible fear, expecting the instant coming of the Judgment. When Otho Third caused the tomb of Charlemagne to be opened, it was reported that the Emperor had appeared to him, and forewarned him of coming death. King Robert, laying siege to an abbey in Burgundy, seeing a fog steaming up from the river, thought that the saints were appearing to fight against him, and precipitately fled with all his army. [1] His first wife, Bertha, his marriage with whom the Church had disapproved, was reported to have given birth to a monster, with a goose-like neck and head.[2] Nothing was too vile or too incredible to be popularly believed; and the belief in witchcraft got at that time a range and a sway of which after centuries felt the impression. The frightful and bloody scenes which subsequently attested the belief of men in present Satanic arts and energies are in no small degree to be attributed to this terrible passage in European experience.

Of course some effects of such a dreadful looking for of Judgment were at least partially good. Men became reconciled who had been at enmity. There was a wide if also a temporary reformation of manners. Large numbers of serfs were set free from the bonds which it was expected would soon be dissolved in celestial fires. Immense gifts of lands and treasure were made to the churches, of which some effects that were not evil came to appear in the following century. Especially, what was known as the Truce of God (la trêve de Dieu) had its impulse in those years, by which men were forbidden to take anything by violence or to engage in strife from

[1] R. Glaber, Hist. sui temporis, lib. ii. cap. 8.

[2] Peter Damiani. See Michelet, Hist. de France, tom. ii. p. 152, note.

Wednesday night to the following Monday morning, under the penalty of death or exile. This was rapidly extended in France, though the time covered by it was variously abridged, and disasters falling on those who disobeyed it were believed to represent the Divine vengeance.[1] It was something, certainly, to fence out regularly a part of each week for the business and pleasure of quiet life. But, in the general, the effect of this dreary and fierce expectation of the end of the world was signally evil. It not only suspended industry, paralyzed incipient attempts at commerce, made men careless of the interests of themselves and their households; it wrought, as such frenzies always work, for the degradation of mind and character. It made fear the predominant motive in society. It excited in many the reckless fierceness of a complete desperation. A sceptical rebound against the whole system of the Christian religion became almost inevitable, after the thousand years from the passion of Christ had been completed without the expected world-disaster. Meantime communities were disorganized, any true secular or spiritual progress was made impossible, the grosser appetites of men seemed often inflamed to a fresh fury as the limits became sharper to the chance of their indulgence. It was a force not fettering only, but malign and destroying, which the expectation of the end of the world for forty years introduced into Europe.

Some lighter shades no doubt there should be on the lurid panorama which it has fallen to me to trace. No

[1] Hoc insuper placuit universis, veluti vulgo dicitur, ut *Treuga Domini* vocaretur; quæ videlicet non solum fulta præsidiis, verum etiam multotiens divinis suffragata terroribus. Nam plerique vesani audaci temeritate præscriptum pactum non timuere transgredi, in quibus protinus aut divina vindex ira, seu humanus gladius ultor extitit. — GLABER: *Hist.*, lib. v. cap. 1.

faithful picture of human society in any epoch can be wholly without such. Love and life were not extinguished. Childhood and motherhood had not ceased. Here and there must have lingered fancy and courtesy, smiles and laughter. Sunrise and sunset did not fail, and Nature had yet bland ministries for men. Home and Church, however unlovely, however oppressive, still continued, and human sensibility was not dead. There must have been those who faced the expected end without fear, and who saw the rainbow, like unto an emerald, around the Throne which was soon to appear. But few traces of such are left on the brief and stern annals; and the general picture of the society of the time can hardly be sketched save in darkness and fire. The very statues of the period, as Michelet suggests, are sad and pinched,[1] as if the dreadful apprehension of the age had sunken into the softened stone. The stern and ghastly mosaics on the walls of the Torcello church and of others bear the same impress.[2]

It is certainly not too much to say that no other period has appeared surpassing that in the general gloom and fear of Christendom, since the Son of God was crucified on Calvary. The earth again seemed to shiver, as under the cross; the heavens to be veiling themselves in eclipse, like that which of old had shrouded Jerusalem from the sixth hour to the ninth.

[1] Voyez ces vieilles statues dans les cathédrales du dixième et du onzième siècle, maigres, muettes et grimaçantes dans leur roideur contractée, l'air souffrant comme la vie, et laides comme la mort. Voyez comme elles implorent, les mains jointes, ce moment souhaité et terrible, cette seconde mort de la résurrection, qui doit les faire sortir de leurs ineffables tristesses, et les faire passer du néant à l'être, du tombeau en Dieu. C'est l'image de ce pauvre monde sans espoir après tant de ruines. — *Hist. de France*, tom. ii. p. 133. Paris ed., 1835.

[2] Hemans, Sacred Art in Italy, vol. i. p. 68. London ed., 1849.

It looked as if the gospel had failed; as if the Church had wholly lost Divine virtue, amid the carnival of lust and blood; as if the wickedness of man had become too great to be longer endured; as if the history of the planet were about to be closed, might properly be closed, amid universal dread and death. Unless a wide reaction had followed after such extreme wretchedness and despair, the history of Western Christendom must soon have been finished. It is such a reaction which we next have to trace, with the real though limited opportunity which it finally gave to the higher aspirations and nobler forces of a man like Bernard.

LECTURE II.

THE ELEVENTH CENTURY: ITS REVIVING LIFE AND PROMISE.

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It is with a positive sense of relief, if not of distinct and glad satisfaction, that one emerges from the fetid gloom which in the tenth century and the early part of the eleventh overhung and oppressed the life of Europe, and enters the comparatively freer atmosphere which thenceforth begins to appear,— meeting a light by no means clear, but destined on the whole to rise and expand on prophetic skies; encountering movements which held at least some promise of good, and which offered encouragement to such reasonable hope as the preceding turmoil of crime and terror had seemed wholly to forbid. In this feeling I am sure that you will sympathize with me, while you will not expect that the story which I am this evening to recall will be without its heavy shadows, or will show sudden splendors contrasting and banishing the nearly intolerable previous darkness. Centuries, we sometimes need to remind ourselves, are not divided like house-lots, by fixed and definite artificial lines, the stable on one side being succeeded by the sumptuous house, or the mean booth abutting upon cathedral walls. The beginning and end of each century are marked by vanishing points of time; and the influence of each age asserts itself accordingly, with inevitable force, in that which follows,— as the in-

fluence of one stream, merging in another, imparts color to its waters, gives impulse to its movement, or by whirling cross-currents sometimes retards that and makes it sluggish. "Our clock strikes," as Carlyle has said, "when there is a change from hour to hour; but no hammer in the Horologe of Time peals through the universe when there is a change from era to era."[1]

It is not to be expected, therefore, that the eleventh century, or even the latter part of it, will be found to stand in absolute contrast with the period which preceded, when the mind of Western Christendom, as I have indicated, was not merely limited or grossly obscured, but was positively enfeebled; when the public temper was practically demoralized by calamity and by fear, and when society was reduced to perhaps the lowest point of enterprise and courage which it ever has reached since the Christian development began in Europe. It will be enough, I am sure, if we meet the signs of a vigorous reaction against the infectious and baneful forces which had paralyzed or fevered what were still leading communities of men; if we find indications of nobler private and public aspiration, giving us fair occasion to anticipate that the period yet to follow this will show religious and social advance, under fresh moral impulses, and will give opportunity to the eager activity and the consecrated energy of a man like Bernard. Such indications I am confident that we shall find; and it is necessary to present them with some particularity, that we may have distinctly before us the age in which his work was done,—an age so different from ours as hardly to seem part of the same time-cycle, yet different also from that through whose foul and frightful darkness we have been passing; an

[1] Miscellanies, vol. ii. p. 249. Boston ed. 1839.

age confused, but not hopelessly chaotic, perplexed by many evil forces and perilous tendencies, but with a certain moral life not wholly unresponsive to other appeals than those of battle-axe, bow, and pike.

In some respects Bernard was fortunate, as I hope to show, in both the needs and the promises of his times. They were not mere times of blood and iron. A reawakened spiritual force was coming to exhibition. Thought was already in his day more variously active. New and vast enterprises moved and lifted the mind of Christendom, which had been so long dangerously stagnant. Instructed minds and consecrated spirits could reach multitudes with an effect wholly impossible a century before him, while still ignorance was wide, vice general, superstition familiar. There was a large possibility in the times which he faced, though vast peril, too, as we cannot but see when we shall reach them. The demand which they made on men like the great Abbot of Clairvaux was constant and immense. I by no means affirm that according to the light in which we walk he always rightly interpreted that demand, or fully met it. But I am as sure as of my own life that he meant to do the work for which God had sent him, with unsparing fidelity; while I gladly see also that he had an opportunity, and found a measure of incitement and reward, for his vast service, which he could not have commanded at any previous time since Charlemagne was entombed. To set in clear outline before our minds, not merely the institutions, in Church or State, in the midst of which his life went on, the conflicts which he encountered, or the public crises which he had to front, but also the tendencies which he morally shared or vehemently repulsed, with the nascent helpful movements of society to which he gave vigor

and momentum, — this is the work which I wish to accomplish, for myself and for you. Until this is done, we cannot fairly set his figure, fine and strong and commanding as it is, on the canvas of his period. And this cannot be done, except as we review, with a still prolonged patience of survey, the changing but stormy and passionate years which more immediately preceded his life. This evening, therefore, I shall ask you to look, with an attention which possibly some among you may not before have given to it, at the latter two-thirds of that eleventh century almost at the close of which Bernard was born, and subsequently to which his spirit made its majestic impression on the life of mankind.

Even before the second expected year of general doom, A.D. 1033, had come and closed, the anticipation of the approaching end of the world had ceased, as I have intimated, to overwhelm so utterly as at first the minds of men. By far the more vivid apprehension had fastened upon the year A.D. 1000 as the term of earthly history; and though, after that, the consummation of the thousand years preceding the Judgment was carried forward by many imaginations to the year which was to mark a full millennium from the Lord's Ascension, it was not in human nature to be again startled and oppressed as men had been startled and terrified before. There was still apprehension; and society could hardly in the nature of things settle itself on sure foundations, while the possibility was yet present to men's minds that within a generation the moon and the sun might be turned into blood and stars be seen to fall from heaven, that the air might be blazing with the majesty of Christ's Throne, and the earth be dissolved into vapor of smoke. But as month followed month, and

the years trod on in silent succession, as children were born, and the weak and the aged died peacefully in their beds, as cabin and convent remained undisturbed, while seasons more or less fruitful and benign followed each other, the expectation of immediate destruction involving the earth and all upon it, though not finally expelled, grew fainter, remoter, and terrified less. And when the year A.D. 1033 had come and gone, while still the mountains stood as before and rivers flowed in their ancient channels, and nothing more alarming than occasional meteors had appeared in the sky, the upspring of confidence was swift and signal on many sides; and a strong impulse began to declare itself toward better administration in the Church and in the State, making these more appropriate to an undisturbed planet, and to a race continuing to possess it.

It was only natural that such a rebound of spirit toward better things should then become evident. The old life, fierce and wild, but resolute, intrepid, and by no means wanting in sagacity or in enterprise,— this, which had been in the barbarous tribes before Christianity had touched them with its power, and which had been refined and softened but not destroyed by the influence of that, as well as by contact with the Southern civilization, was still energetically present in Europe. Much of a savage childishness was in it; its thought was crude, its passions were impetuous, its fancies were often grim and ghastly; it had not much of cultured wisdom, of self-restraint, or intelligent piety; but courage belonged to it in large measure, with something of fortitude and of patience, with something even of executive skill. And it was not possible that such a diffused and animating life should remain content with things as they were. It must push forward, in spite

of all obstacles, and in the face of whatever might resist, toward ampler and sweeter conditions of existence, a more tranquil, prosperous, and prophetic development of what in society was wholesome and safe. The religion, too, which it had more or less roughly received, gave helps and incentives toward this social and moral movement.

The vast inheritance of historical Christianity was now a secure possession of Europe; and while they were not many, outside at least of convent and church, who could read familiarly the records of the Scripture, while the copies of these were by no means abundant, and while amid the obscuring rites with which the gospel had come to be encrusted its own radiance was painfully dimmed, was even at times intermittently hidden, — there still were those, in cottage and castle as well as in cloister, who knew something intellectually of the facts, the doctrines, and the promises of that gospel, and who had felt in their experience an impulse and uplift from the Faith. Supernal worlds were recognized by them; and from those high, inexhaustible sources an influence fell to strengthen and ennoble, as well as to enlighten. That the Son of God had been upon the earth, giving new sacredness to it; that by His cross atonement had been made for the sins of the penitent; that through His mediation the Spirit of God was sent to purify human souls; that His was a law above all human code and custom, that He was at last to judge the world, with each man upon it, and that beyond that Throne of judgment extended an existence unlimited by years, of pain or of peace according to men's relationship to Him, — these were conceptions which the general mind of Christendom had absorbed, and which in some had become intense and powerful convictions. The distinct im-

pression of them was sometimes shown even by those in whom it might least have been expected,— by vicious prelates, profligate princes, the robber knight, the dissolute woman, or the debauched and blasphemous monk. However stained with defilements, which all felt to be alien to it, the Church remained to the mind of that age the living monument, the teaching witness, of these transcendent and vital realities; and from the sense of eternal responsibility to Him who had returned from the earth to the heavens, the temper of the darkest and most degraded of all the centuries had not been able to shake itself free.

So it came to pass, then and afterward, almost as with the certainty of natural law, that the expectation of something better to be attained wrought with a secret energy in men's spirits. The Golden Age of heathen poets had been in the past. Amid the portentous glooms and terrors of the tenth century it had seemed as if the Golden Age of Christendom was also there, if anywhere, to be looked for. But when that frightful time had passed, and the fetters of an awful fear had fallen with it, the old life-force reasserted its vigor, and Christianity began again to show itself a power to renew and reinforce. It was felt that the earth was too near to God's thought to be permitted always to remain in bloody ruin. The centuries which were dated from the Angelic Hymn,— it could not be that they were to close amid wrecks of society, with the furious crash of chaotic battle. Sometime or other it must come to pass that the world at large would join in the anthem of Glory to God in the highest, with peace on earth to men of God's pleasure. So, from this time on, we trace a new impulse moving amid the sluggish centuries. Men themselves may not have been fully aware of it

at the time, but we looking back can discern it in history, as one sees the dawn brightening into day through imperceptible gradations, as one notes the change from the blue to the violet in the tints of the spectrum. In this fresh impulse is the key to almost everything which follows, in religious or in social life, onward to the end of the life of Bernard.

The empire was now partially re-established, though certainly more in name than in power, in the German line; and from the close of the tenth century to beyond the middle of the eleventh, the emperors, Otho Third, Henry Second, Conrad Second, Henry Third, were commonly princes of political ability. From the year A.D. 996 to A.D. 1031, Robert the Pious had been upon the throne of France; of whom Michelet says that in his simplicity of mind he seemed to have disarmed the Divine anger, having the peace of God incarnate in him.[1] His son, Henry First, reigned after him till A.D. 1060; and the grandson, Philip First, followed them on the throne till A.D. 1108. The power of these kings was never great; they were sovereigns hardly more than in title; and both in private life and in public affairs their counsels were often perplexed and timid, their activities limited in reach and effect. But such prolonged and continuous reigns gave a certain quietness to the general mind, with at least a measure of assistance to the new forces beginning to appear. The French nation was all the time growing toward power, perhaps in part by reason of the recognized weakness of its kings.[2] Cities

[1] C'est sous ce bon Robert que se passa cette terrible époque de l'an 1000; et il sembla que la colère divine fût désarmée par cet homme simple, en qui s'était comme incarnée la paix de Dieu. — *Hist. de France*, tom. ii. p. 144. Paris ed., 1835.

[2] Sismondi says of these kings: "Ils n'ont fait, durant ce long temps, que sommeiller sur le trône; ils n'ont montré que foiblesse, amour du

were slowly gaining in population, increasing in importance, and becoming more sensible of their place in the world. Industry revived, and manufactures were extended, of humbler things as well as of armor, rich dresses, or decorated furniture. Not only carpets, tapestries, embroidered cloths, were wrought, with the magnificent ecclesiastical apparatus of altars, censers, chalices, reliquaries, candelabra, — a rude ceramic art appeared, and common utensils were more skilfully fashioned. By degrees commerce got itself liberated from the almost complete paralysis of the past, and began to knit communities together in the vital though frail and precarious threads of mutual relationship.

Even the weather seemed to take new aspects to the rekindled courage of men. After the year A.D. 1033, according to Glaber, the rains ceased, the clouds were dispersed, the smiling heavens reappeared, and hillside and plain were once more fruitful. There was strange abundance of food and wine, prices were reduced, the poor were supplied; it was, he says, like a return of the Mosaic Jubilee.[1] The French language began to

repos ou amour des plaisirs; ils ne se sont pas signalés par une seule grande action. La nation française, au contraire, qui marque ses fastes par les époques de leur règne, s'agrandit et s'ennoblit d'année en année, acquiert à chaque génération des vertus nouvelles, et devient à la fin de cette même période l'école d'héroisme de tout l'occident, le modèle de cette perfection presque idéale qu'on désigna par le nom de chevalerie, et que les guerres des croisés, les chants des troubadours et des trouvères, et les romans même des nations voisines, rendirent propre à la France." — *Hist. des Français*, tom. iv. pp. 197–198. Paris ed., 1823.

[1] Anno a passione Domini millesimo memoratæ cladis penurias subsequente, sedatis nimborum imbribus respectu divinæ bonitatis et misericordiæ, cœpit læta facies cœli clarescere, congruisque æthereis flare, placidaque serenitate magnanimitatem Conditoris ostendere. . . . Eodem denique anno tanta copia abundantiæ frumenti et vini, ceterarumque frugum extitit, quanta in subsequente quinquennio contigisse sperari non

take at this time the form which in substance it has retained; it became the language of castles and courts, one of the principal dialects of Europe. About the middle of the eleventh century, Edward the Confessor introduced it into England;[1] and after William of Normandy had been crowned at Westminster, A.D. 1066, it was for a long time the legal language of the British realm. The power of the Saracens was now practically broken in Europe. They had been dislodged from Sardinia, A.D. 1022, by the combined forces of the Genoese and the Pisans. In the latter part of the century they were conquered in Sicily by the Normans. In the fifty years between A.D. 1026 and A.D. 1076 movements of Europeans to visit the Holy Land were carried forward in large proportions; and the spirit of enterprise thus expressed, with the results of that enterprise in increased knowledge and widened thought, aided the general tendency of Christendom toward more benign and salutary conditions.

All things thus predicted a change toward a more genial environment of life, with a finer and deeper quickening of its force; and of course reformation was first to be sought in the administration and spirit of the Church, from which, as it had been, such immense evils had incessantly flowed. I have spoken in the previous lecture of its general condition, as represented

potuit. Aliquis enim victus humanus, præter carnes seu deliciosa pulmentaria, nullius erat pretii; erat autem instar illius antiqui Mosaici magni Jubelei. — *Hist. sui temp.*, lib. iv. cap. 5.

[1] Ingulphus, who lived at the time, says that "all the nobles [in England] began to speak the Gallic tongue in their respective courts, as though it were the great national language, and to execute their charters and deeds after the fashion of the French." — *Hist. Croyland*, A. D. 1048.

by the pontiffs who in the tenth century had occupied and degraded in a dreadful succession the Papal chair. The disgust of Christendom, though long slumbering, and when first awakened languid and inert, had been at last sharply aroused against pontiffs like these; and wherever Christian faith survived, the necessity of a prompt purging of the Church was deeply felt. It had happened, too, that at the very end of the period which I have partially sketched, in the year A.D. 1033, perhaps the worst and most infamous of the popes, Benedict Ninth, had been raised to the pontifical throne; and from that time on to the term of his reign, A.D. 1048, he was adding intensity to the general disgust. His pontifical career seemed the last tremendous bolt shot out of a period rumbling with thunder and terrific with awful glooms. Among all men who knew his story, not among the thoughtful and pure-minded only, his name was infamous. Raised to the throne at the age of twelve years, twice at least expelled from the capital by the outraged citizens, and driven into exile before the fierce loathing and hate of clergy and laity, he at last sold the Papacy, as I have said, that he might be freer for his profligate pleasures. Failing, however, to find satisfaction in the varied abominations of his detestable private life, he forced himself again into Rome, where two rival popes now contended for his place. At last, one of his competitors having been poisoned, and the other being a man of character and influence, Benedict was persuaded or bribed to retire to a convent, where he died. A popular Italian legend described his ghost as afterward appearing in the form of a bear with the ears of an ass, and as saying, when asked the meaning of this horrible guise, "Because I lived without law or reason, God, and Peter, whose see

I contaminated by my vices, decree that I shall bear this image of a brute, not of a man."[1]

This intolerable career of Benedict Ninth filled to the brim the shame of Christendom, at the lust, simony, cruel greed and treacherous crime, which had so long been enthroned at the religious summit in Rome, and after him a succession of better pontiffs appeared: Leo Ninth, subsequently canonized, under whom the schism between the Eastern and Western churches was finally consummated, with mutual anathemas; Victor Second, who carried forward the work of reformation initiated by Leo, and under whom, as under Leo, theological discussion asserted its importance, as in the scrutiny to which Berengarius of Tours was subjected; Stephen Ninth, who exerted himself with vigor against simony, and against the immoral license of the priesthood; Nicholas Second, who carried on the plans of Stephen, and under whom was issued a decree giving a needed regularity and order to the election of the pontiff, by putting it in the hands of the higher Roman clergy. Then came Alexander Second, who had to fight against a competitor for the pontifical chair, but who in the midst of that strenuous conflict assumed to confer the English crown on William of Normandy, who exerted himself to shield the Jews from the cruelty of Christians, and who favored and furthered the measures of reform before introduced. And finally came Hildebrand, whose influence had been in fact controlling in the recent successive pontificates, and who in A.D. 1073 was raised himself to the chair of St. Peter, by the united voices of the Roman clergy, nobles, magistrates, and principal citizens, thenceforth to preside there, under

[1] Hemans, Hist. Med. Christ. and Sacred Art, vol. i. p. 86. London ed., 1869.

the title of Gregory Seventh, until his death, A.D. 1085.

We have reached one of the crises in history. Let us pause a moment to assure ourselves of the right point of view, from which to survey the fierce tangles and bloody collisions which were rapidly to follow. This point of view has perhaps sometimes been missed, even by those whose learned diligence has in many particulars made us their debtors.

In spite of the almost desperate condition to which Europe had descended after the Empire, through desolating craft, violence, fear, the rage of rapine, the utter absence of general law, and the frenzy of appalling superstition, the desire continued, as I have said, which here and there became a hope, of more propitious periods to come. Though historical records were few and scanty, the tradition survived of the better time which had sadly passed when the empire of Charlemagne fell with his life. It was at least dimly known that the distractions and degradations of two hundred years had followed a season which under him had been one of relative peace and promise; and it was widely if vaguely felt that a return to such conditions might not be impossible. But certainly no power, civil or military, remained in Europe which could hope to attain the continental prominence or the general sway which had belonged to the fallen Empire. Not one of all the kings or kingdoms then appearing could look for more than local dominion. Indeed each was compelled to fight for life, and to hold possession through constant struggle. If, therefore, there were to be again a power recognized and obeyed in all the lands, it could only be the power of the Church. The World-religion had not died, though the World-empire had vanished as a dream. The pope

was in presence, though the emperor, in anything else than a transient semblance of his former prerogative, was no more seen. To aggrandize the pope was, therefore, apparently the only means by which to restore unity to Europe. What Church and Empire had combined to accomplish in the earlier time, the Church alone was now left to attempt; and the separate contending secular powers must be made subordinate, as not hitherto, to the religious.

In this inarticulate but real and strenuous tendency of the age is the key to what followed, from the enthronement of Hildebrand as pope to the time of the birth of Bernard, and beyond that. It was this which gave to the determined and powerful pontiff his immense opportunity. It was this which sustained his defiant courage in the fiercest of his contests. It was this which made possible, which practically inspired, the enormous movement of the Crusades. It had only come to clearer distinctness, and attracted to itself the more earnest conviction of governing minds, when the great Abbot whom we are to interpret entered on his extraordinary career. If we hold in mind this general conception as to the temper and trend of the time, we shall more easily understand what was yet to intervene before his appearance in public life, and shall possibly observe with keener sympathy the unsurpassed force and patience with which he wrought, when his day had come, for effects which he thought radically essential to civilized progress, the value of some of which to our own time we must frankly admit.

Before us, as before the Europe of his time, the great — one might almost say the enigmatic — figure of Hildebrand rises to an eminence hardly surpassed in the annals of mankind. In the vehement controversies

which agitated Christendom in his time, which swept nations into arms, the swell of which has not yet wholly subsided, his name has been clothed with an evil renown by those who have dreaded and detested the principles of which he was the foremost champion. He was accused by those of his contemporaries who hated him, as multitudes did, not of arrogance only, and destroying ambition, but of falsehood and perjury, of heresy and infidelity, of using magical arts, and even of adultery; and the intensity of the hate which he awakened seems closely to have matched the greatness of the work which he undertook, and the energy and tenacity with which he pursued it. Even by the modern dispassionate student, after eight hundred years have passed since his death, it must be admitted that his temper was haughty, his genius at once vehement and subtile, and that he seems to have veiled his intentions, when they could not be exhibited to advantage, under forms of words ambiguous or deceptive. He is not to be accepted without reserve as hero and martyr. One is almost tempted to repeat, more in earnest, those probably affectionate and ironical words in which his friend Peter Damiani reproachfully addressed him as "Saint Satan."

But this, at least, must be said of Hildebrand: that those who knew him, and who chose him as pontiff, described him as "a religious man, of manifold science, endowed with prudence, a most excellent lover of justice, strong in adversity, temperate in prosperity, chaste, modest, sober, hospitable, from his boyhood well educated and learned;"[1] and, further, that according to his

[1] Eligimus nobis in pastorem et summum Pontificem virum religiosum, geminæ scientiæ prudentia pollentem, æquitatis et justitiæ præstantissimum, in adversis fortem, in prosperis temperatum, et juxta Apostoli

conception of things the highest aims were always before him. He labored and suffered, he wrought and fought unflinchingly to the last, for ends which seemed to him Divine; and he gave in some directions a prodigious momentum to tendencies which needed to be broadly revived and effectively reinforced for the progress and welfare of Europe.[1]

To his forecasting and imperious mind it was evident as the day that of the two forms of organized power then existing on the Continent, — the secular, represented by civil and military governments, the spiritual, presenting itself in the universal Church, — the former was in all respects the inferior, to be directed, curbed, if need came to be crushed, by that whose prerogative was essentially higher. The secular State was always local; the Church alone was ecumenical. The former was in natural antagonism, usually, to others of its order; only the spiritual power stood by itself, without rivalry as without peer. The State contemplated temporal interests, in a coarse and blind way; the Church was intent, with an inerrant wisdom, on immortal welfares. The State organization depended on accidents of prox-

dictum bonis moribus ornatum, pudicum, modestum, sobrium, castum, hospitalem, domum suam bene regentem, in gremio hujus matris Ecclesiæ a pueritia satis nobiliter educatum et doctum, . . . quem a modo usque in sempiturnum et esse et dici Gregorium Papam et Apostolicum, volumus et approbamus. — *Decretum electionis;* Acta Romæ, dec. kal. maje.

See Baronius, Ann. Eccles., tom. xvii. p. 357.

[1] Ordericus Vitalis, who entered the monastery of St. Evrault in the same year in which Gregory died, no doubt reports faithfully the impression of him which prevailed at the time among the devout and God-fearing monks: "His whole life was a pattern of wisdom and religion, maintaining a perpetual conflict against sin. . . . Inflamed with zeal for truth and justice, he denounced every kind of wickedness, sparing no offenders, either through fear or favor." — *Eccles. Hist.* b. vii. ch. 4.

imity, and was largely fashioned by greed, ambition, and an imperious self-will; the spiritual organism came from God, through His Son, and had His mind abiding in it. The vastest empire of the earth might entirely pass away, as even that of Charlemagne had done; the Church was as permanent as it was all-embracing, and not the fiercest gates of hell could at last prevail against it. The State, therefore, must be everywhere subordinate to the Church, serving it in a dependent and an ancillary office, while the ultimate regulation of all affairs, private or public, belonged to this supreme institution. The only hope for peace in Christendom, or for moral progress, in Hildebrand's view, was in the unflinching embodiment in practice of this prophetic, superlative idea.

He was the magnificent idealist of his time, its sovereign transcendentalist in the sphere of affairs; while his stubbornness of purpose and his tactical skill were not surpassed by any counsellor of kings or any captain of troops. He held himself the responsible minister on earth of the Divine jurisprudence; the authoritative head of the one institution which had the ages for its own, the continents for its area, and whose mission it was to shield, to instruct, and essentially to unify all peoples of mankind. To the fulfilment of this incomparable and awful office he had been called by the voice of the Church, articulating the will of the Holy Ghost; and to it his life was thenceforth devoted. He abjured pleasure, renounced ease, was careless of security, was ready for any hardest labor, that he might make his life an offering to what he esteemed the sovereign idea and interest of mankind,— "pro Ecclesia Dei."

You know, in general, the story of his career. Of lowly birth, the son of a carpenter in a small Tuscan

town, the German name Hildebrand was given him at baptism, transformed to "Hellebrand" in the Italian pronunciation,—a name which his admirers afterward interpreted as "a living flame," which those who hated him understood to mean "a brand of hell."[1] The German name has been taken by some as possibly indicating that German blood mingled with Italian in the veins of him before whom afterward the German emperor was to be humbled; but of this there seems no other indication. The humbleness of his birth, in contrast with the dignities to which he was raised, illustrates well that democracy of the Church which even Voltaire discerned and honored.[2] Whatever else the Church might lack, it had always this moral superiority above the other governments of the time,— that it estimated talent more highly than strength, it honored the moral sensibility and energy which in camps were contemptuously despised, and it offered opportunity to the humblest child, whom feudalism regarded as next of kin to the clods, to raise himself, if mind and will were equal to it, to the highest office. One cannot wonder that such a scheme of government stood near and noble before the hearts of the people, any one of whose children might through it become a chief over princes.

It was natural that the bright and eager Tuscan boy should be sent to Rome, to be educated there, in a monastery on the Aventine hill, and that from thence in his

[1] Pro varia dialecto varie nomen hoc scribitur, — Hiltebrant, Hildebrand, Heldebrant, et (suavioris pronuntiationis causa) etiam Hellebrand; quod postremum, quia varie accipi potest, inimicis Gregorii et maledicis occasionem dedit. *Infernalem titionem;* quamvis Helle, non solum substantive infernum, sed adjective etiam Clarum significet. — *S. Greg. VII., Vita, Paulo Bernried*, note 2.

[2] Essai sur les Mœurs: Œuvres, iii. 571, 606, 607. Paris ed., 1877.

young manhood he should enter as a monk into the great, wealthy, and at that time the strict monastery of Clugni in Burgundy.[1] Some of the friendships there formed continued through his life; and amid whatever subsequent power or splendor of surroundings, he seems to have retained the habits of an anchorite, eating only vegetables, and mentioning once to Peter Damiani that he had come to abstain from leeks and onions because of scruples which he felt at the pleasure which they afforded.

Having already once gone from Clugni to Rome, during the shameful pontificate of Benedict Ninth, he again and finally went thither, A.D. 1049, with Bruno, Bishop of Toul, who had been appointed pope by an assembly at Worms, and who afterward became famous as Leo Ninth. By this pontiff, who leaned always upon the counsel of Hildebrand and desired to keep him near at hand, he was appointed Superior of the monastery of St. Paul without the Gates, — an establishment then fallen into decay, almost into ruin, through the gross vices prevailing in it, and the unchecked violence of neighboring nobles. Hildebrand restored the ancient rule of the Abbey, with its austere discipline; he augmented its revenues and recovered much of its former property, which had been diverted into lay hands by

[1] The name of the famous abbey is variously spelled Clugni, Clugny, Cluny, Cluni. It is uniformly spelled in these lectures in the first form, as that is the one which appears in the charter on which it was originally founded, which runs thus —

"Que tous les fidèles qui sont et qui seront jusqu'à la consommation des siècles sachent que, pour l'amour de Dieu et de J.-C. notre Sauveur, j'ai donné aux Saints Apôtres Pierre et Paul, avec ses dépendances, la terre de CLUGNI qui m'appartient, et qui est située sur la rivière de Grone," etc. "Charte de Fondation," by William of Aquitaine. See "St. Bernard," par M. Capefigue, p. 103.

The monks came to it A. D. 909.

brigand seigneurs; and he gave evidence, even then, of the extraordinary faculty for administration, and the yet more extraordinary gifts for command over men, which were afterward to be shown on a larger arena. To his ardent imagination Saint Paul himself seemed personally manifest, in a vision inspiring him by significant gesture to the arduous work of cleansing and restoring the ancient foundation.[1] The monks yielded to his intrepid and imperious energy, and attributed to him an almost supernatural power of discerning the thoughts of men.

After the death of Leo Ninth the succeeding popes were appointed largely through the influence of Hildebrand; and upon the death of Alexander Second, April 21, A. D. 1073, the Tuscan monk, who had not yet been ordained a priest, but whose genius and spirit had had clear recognition among the clergy and the citizens of Rome, was elected by them to the pontificate with tumultuous unanimity. In the following June, after a delay which his enemies considered wholly hypocritical, which his friends attributed to modest sensibility, and a just awe in presence of such immense responsibilities, having a few days before been ordained priest, he was consecrated pope.

He had before him from the outset two ends to be attained, — the enfranchisement of the Church, through its established and unquestioned supremacy over secular powers, and the reform of it to purer morals, and to what was to his mind a majestic and beneficent spiritual life. As different as it is possible for one to be, in par-

[1] Apparens ei B. Paulus in basilica sua stabat, ac palam manibus tenens stercora boum, de pavimento levabat, ac foras jactabat; . . . jussitque eum palam apprehendere, et fimum (sicut ipse fecerat) ejicere. — *Vita S. Greg. VII., Paulo Bernried*, cap. i. 8.

ticulars of doctrine, and in all the outward circumstances of life, from those who are known as "Puritans" in our history, he was the supreme Puritan of his century; and a descendant of those who made the early New England religious and famous may frankly admit admiration for him, with a certain measure of sympathy in his aims. What to him was the Divine righteousness, he meant to make the universal law of the Church, and through that the law of all the peoples whom the Church could instruct. In his intense enthusiasm for this is the key to his crowded and battling life. Against simony, of course, and the purchase of ecclesiastical office either by money or by promise, he vigorously fought; against the appointment of bishops and abbots by secular princes, and the investing of them by laical hands with the crozier and the ring, making them in effect feudal dependants upon a sovereignty which was only of the world;[1] against the foul, unnatural vices which Leo Ninth had vehemently denounced, which were still flagrantly common in convents; against the concubinage in which multitudes of the priests openly lived; and, as fiercely as against anything else, against the lawful marriage of priests, which, in spite of the efforts of preceding popes was still recognized and common throughout Europe, — against all these abuses and of-

[1] Si quis deinceps episcopatum vel abbatiam de manu alicujus laicæ personæ susceperit, nullatenus inter episcopos vel abbates habeatur, nec ulla ei ut episcopo aut abbati audientia concedatur. Insuper ei gratiam beati Petri, et introitum ecclesiæ interdicimus, quoad usque locum, quem sub crimine tam ambitionis quam inobedientiæ, quod est scelus idolatriæ, deseruerit. Similiter etiam de inferioribus ecclesiasticis dignitatibus constituimus. Item, si quis Imperatorum, Ducum, Marchionum, Comitum, vel quilibet sæcularium potestatum, aut personarum, investituram episcopatus, vel alicujus ecclesiasticæ dignitatis dare præsumpserit, ejusdem sententiæ vinculo se astrictum sciat. — *Lab Conc.* p. 342.

fences, as he held them to be, and as some of them were, Gregory put forth his utmost energy, and against them he wielded the anathemas of the Church with an unwearied hand.

As a matter of course, these efforts wrought always toward the effect of making the pontiff supreme throughout Christendom. That was his aim. But it does not appear that personal ambition was at the root of his plans, or had over them a governing influence. The supremacy of the Church, of which he was for the time the head, its supremacy throughout the civilized world, for the welfare of man and the glory of God, — this was the ideal which rained upon him its ceaseless influence. To this end he meant to have, it was in his view indispensable that he should have, every bishop a representative of the pontiff at Rome, dependent upon him and removable by him, and to have all priests his obedient servants, while special legates should be his ministers in every court and every council. The "Dictates" promulgated by him at the council in Rome, A.D. 1076, as presenting fundamental maxims of the Church, express and illustrate his whole theory. Among them are these: —

"The Roman Church is founded by God alone.

"The Roman pontiff alone is justly called universal.

"His legate takes precedence of all bishops in a council, though he be of inferior rank; and he has power to pronounce against them the sentence of deposition.

"The pope may depose those absent.

"All princes shall kiss the feet of the pope alone.

"It is lawful for him to depose emperors.

"No council may be called a General Council without the pope's order.

"No capitulary, no book, can be esteemed canonical without his authority.

"His sentence can be revoked by no one, and he alone can revoke the sentences of all others.

"He can be judged by none.

"No one may dare to pronounce condemnation on one who appeals to the Apostolic See.

"The Roman Church has never erred, nor forevermore will it err, the Scripture remaining [restante].

"Without convening a synod he [the Roman pontiff] may depose or reconcile bishops.

"No one is to be esteemed a Catholic who does not wholly accord [concordat] with the Roman Church."[1]

Here is the scheme of Gregory, definitely and defiantly set forth before the Church and the world. He claimed for the papacy the greatest conceivable authority on earth, such as, according to the emphatic words of Villemain, "rendered every other power useless and subaltern;"[2] and this was the scheme which he was determined to make actual in Europe, as against all feudal institutions, all kingly authority, all art and craft of soldiers and princes, all resistance of ecclesiastics of whatever degree. In that way, and no other, should the states of the Continent be compacted together in a permanent unity. In comparison with so colossal a scheme, Napoleon's conception of a universal empire on the Continent, with France at its head, appears coarse and commonplace. Compared with it the subjugation of nations to the ancient imperial Rome had been a matter wholly superficial. The largest

[1] Baronius, Annales Ecclesiast., tom. xvii. pp. 430–431. Lucæ, 1745.

[2] Jamais puissance plus grande n'avait été créée ; elle rendait tout autre pouvoir inutile et subalterne. — *Hist. de Grég. VII.*, tom. ii. p. 61.

schemes of military conquest and political subordination which had ever occupied the genius of Charlemagne were low and limited as measured against this. Only one of the great minds in history could have accepted such a scheme, and have presented it in such majestic and intolerable distinctness. Only a wide reach of circumstances could have suggested it; and perhaps only the tremendous concussion of doctrines so sweeping and so unsparing could have smitten with the shock which then was needed the dulled mind and half-awakened spirit of the populations to which they were addressed. Atrocities of action had been familiar at Rome. Profligacy of manners, an even eccentric vileness of character, in the head of the Church, would hardly have startled communities which still remembered Benedict Ninth. But it was not possible for Europe to be insensible before this claim of a right which annulled or suspended all other human obligations, — before this asserted authority of one man to govern on earth, and to open or shut the gates of heaven.

It must always be remembered, too, in justice to Gregory, that it was not a corrupt Church, as he recognized corruptness, it was not a Church of simoniacal ecclesiastics, of licentious, ignorant, and indolent priests, of worldly, luxurious, half-military prelates, which he thus sought to make universal. He meant to make it pure, as I have said, through a return to austere discipline, and by the promotion of an ascetic piety. He meant that its purity should match its supremacy; that piety should be fostered, the poor be protected, a celestial life be presented in the world, by that Divine organism, as to him it appeared, against which the power of the most audacious and insolent ruffian, of the haughtiest baron, of the proudest sov-

ereign, if his plans could be realized, should dash itself in vain.[1]

His personal standard of practical religion appears in a letter written by him to the Countess Beatrice and her daughter Matilda: "From love to God to show love to one's neighbor, to aid the unfortunate and the oppressed, — this I consider more than prayers, fastings, vigils, and other good works, be these never so many; for I cannot hesitate to prefer, with the Apostle, true love to all other virtues."[2] When Matilda, of England, offered him anything which was hers for which he might express a wish, his reply was a noble one: "What gold, what jewels, what precious things of the world are more to be desired from thee by me than a chaste life, the distribution of thy goods to the poor, love of God and of thy neighbor?"[3] He personally interposed on behalf of poor women in Denmark who were being persecuted as witches, and admonished the remote and half-civilized king to put an end to such an abuse or suffer himself the Divine retribution.[4] He touchingly expressed his

[1] The "Acta Pontificalia" describe perfectly, as I conceive, the purpose of Gregory: "Noluit sane ut Ecclesiasticus ordo manibus laicorum subjaceret, sed eisdem et morum sanctitate, et ordinis dignitate præemineret." — *Opera S. Greg. VII.* [Migne], col. 114.

[2] Ex amore quidem Dei proximum diligendo adjuvare, miseris et oppressis subvenire, orationibus, jejuniis, vigiliis et aliis quampluribus bonis operibus præpono, quia veram charitatem cunctis virtutibus præferre cum Apostolo non dubito. — *Ibid.*, lib. i. ep. l.

[3] Quod enim aurum, quæ gemmæ, quæ mundi hujus pretiosa mihi a te magis sunt exspectanda, quam vita casta, rerum tuarum in pauperes distributio, Dei et proximi dilectio? — *Ibid.*, lib. vii. ep. xxvi.

[4] Præterea in mulieres ob eamdem causam simili immanitate barbari ritus damnatas quidquam impietatis faciendi vobis fas esse nolite putare, sed potius discite divinæ ultionis sententiam digne pœnitendo avertere quam in illas insontes frustra feraliter sæviendo iram Domini multo magis provocare. Si enim in his flagitiis duraveritis, procul dubio vestra felicitas in calamitatem vertetur, etc. — *Ibid.*, lib. vii. ep. xxi.

own sense of sin, and his hope of salvation through the merits of Christ alone. "When I look at myself," he wrote to his friend the Abbot of Clugni, "I find myself oppressed with such a burden of sin that no other hope of salvation is left me save in the mercy of Christ alone;"[1] and in a pontifical letter circulated throughout Germany A.D. 1077, he says, with what seems a sad sincerity, "We know that we have been ordained and placed in the Apostolic chair to this end, that we should seek in this life, not our own interests, but the things of Christ, and should walk forward through many labors, in the steps of the Fathers, to future and eternal rest through the mercy of God."[2] I cannot for myself resist the conviction that he felt himself a Divine minister, authorized and instructed to make spiritual ideas, laws, and welfare supreme in the world; to limit and suspend the authority of princes, which had sprung from self-will, and had been confirmed by craft and blood, before that of the priest, derived from God; to maintain and administer the universal theocracy of which he had become the temporary head, but in which, as he thought, the Most High would be honored, and the peace, holiness, and joy of mankind be illustriously secured.

[1] Ad meipsum cum redeo, ita me gravatum propriæ actionis pondere invenio ut nulla remaneat spes salutis, nisi de sola misericordia Christi. Nam si non sperarem ad meliorem vitam, et utilitatem sanctæ Ecclesiæ venire, nullo modo Romæ, in qua coactus, Deo teste, jam a viginti annis inhabitavi, remanerem. — *Opera S. Greg. VII.*, lib. ii. ep. xlix.

[2] Magis enim volumus mortem, si hoc oportet, subire, quam, propria voluntate devicti, ut Ecclesia Dei ad confusionem veniat consentire. Ad hoc enim nos ordinatos et in apostolica sede constitutos esse cognoscimus, ut in hac vita non quæ nostra sed quæ Iesu Christi sunt quæramus, et per multos labores Patrum sequentes vestigia ad futuram et æternam quietem, Deo miserante, tendamus. — *Ibid.*, lib. iv. ep. xxiv.

Of course a scheme so vast as this, and so revolutionary as against customs of life and institutes of government everywhere recognized, had to encounter the fiercest resistance on many sides. It could not be set in operation at all except against the instant opposition of every greedy and profligate monk; of every bishop or abbot who had entered upon his office by purchase or promise; of every noble who wanted a priesthood to give license to his lusts; of the German Emperor most of all, who had inherited a great title with an important secular power, whose predecessors had appointed and deposed popes, and to whom it seemed the wildest fantasy that the Bishop of Rome should claim supremacy over one who represented, though in a measure so far inferior, the early prerogative of Charlemagne. Even the purest class of the priests, those who were married, in happy homes, with wives by their side and children around them, looked with equal fear and horror on this pontifical purpose to cast dishonor on their wives, and to take from their children inheritance and name. Archbishops were stoned in their pulpits when they read the decrees; abbots were dragged from the assemblies, and hardly rescued alive. The rancor excited had almost no precedent. A man at Cambrai was burned alive for upholding the decrees.[1]

Of course, too, Gregory had no armed forces at his command sufficient to carry into effect his amazing and daring plan. Indeed, he was not always secure in the capital, or in St. Peter's; and it is a noticeable fact that, as Alexander Second had not been in quiet possession of Rome when he sent his blessing to William of Normandy, with the consecrated banner bearing the

[1] Gregory himself is the authority for this. — *Opera*, lib. iv. ep. xx.

Agnus Dei blazing on it in gold embroidery, and assumed to transfer the kingdom to him, so Gregory was attacked in church, was taken prisoner and subjected to outrage by Roman brigands, at the very time when, as sovereign pontiff, he claimed authority over kings and emperors, whose privilege it was to kiss his feet.

But he had, at the same time, vast powers with which to work, and an equipment of instruments which no king could rival, with some signal opportunities for success. The genius of the Roman Church had always expressed itself not so much in eloquence of speech, or in copiousness of writing, as in careful, compact, and effective organization. The entire control of that organization, which had now been matured and consolidated by time, was in the hands of Gregory, to be used by him with the steadiness and strength of his extraordinary will. The imperial place of the great capital in the world had never been practically lost. Remote tribes, the descendants of those who had stricken and shattered the early Empire, still looked with wondering awe to the city enthroned upon the hills to which it had given a world-wide fame. Especially, every priest of the Church stood in conscious relation to the pontifical capital. His education affiliated him with it. Its language was his official vernacular; and no doubt because he saw the constant effect of this, Gregory forbade the translation of the offices of the Church into any other tongue,— as, for example, the Slavonic.[1]

[1] Thus he wrote to Wratislas, Duke of Bohemia: —

Quia vero nobilitas tua postulavit quod secundum Sclavonicam linguam apud vos divinum celebrari annueremus Officium, scias nos huic petitioni tuæ nequaquam posse favere. Ex hoc nempe sæpe volventibus liquet non immerito sacram Scripturam omnipotenti Deo placuisse quibus-

Being divorced, too, from family ties, if the scheme of the Pontiff could be accomplished, the Church would become the only country of every priest, with Rome for its imposing centre. If, then, that Church were purged of scandals, redeemed from iniquities, revitalized with a unifying life, he at the head of it would hold Christendom in his hand, to govern and guide it at every point.

His own character gave him prodigious advantage. Those who reviled him knew that their reproaches were in large measure a mere gnashing of teeth. The dignity of his life, his patience, fortitude, and steadfastness of spirit, were in illustrious contrast not only with the wretched and infamous prelates who had often preceded him, but with the character and life of such principal antagonists as Henry Fourth, of Germany, and Philip First, of France. The men of nobler thought and temper were widely in sympathy with him, while the poor, who had been oppressed with relentless severity by soldiers and nobles, were elated by his power, and anticipated a refuge more accessible and secure than they perhaps found in his sublime appellate authority. The superstitious temper of the time supplied precisely the element which he needed to make his assaults on his opponents effective. When calamities threatened part of Germany, and the monarch had defied him, it was currently reported that the very images of Christ in the churches had broken into bloody sweat, that real blood had appeared, excluding even the accidents of wine, in the sacramental cup. When the Bishop of Utrecht had disregarded the anathemas

dam locis esse occultam, ne, si ad liquidum cunctis pateret, forte vilesceret et subjaceret despectui, aut prave intellecta a mediocribus in errorem induceret. — *Opera*, lib. vii. ep. xi.

of the Pontiff, and encouraged the king also to defy them, it was believed that his death, soon following, had been attended with strange anguish, and that he himself had seen devils around him, and had declined offered prayers as of no avail.[1] There was something more terrible to men's imagination in that perplexed and anxious time than warriors in mail,— even the invisible celestial hosts, of which the silent air was full. There was a power more awful than that of barons or kings, though their castles were strong, their troops many, their torture-chambers terrible to think of. It was the power which, after men were killed, had authority to cast their souls into hell. The mind of Europe thus generally responded to the words of Gregory when he admonished a prelate favorable to Henry, and through him Henry himself, that the power of kings and emperors, and all combined endeavors of mortals, as opposed to the apostolic rights and the omnipotence of God, were only as a vanishing spark and as light chaff.[2] So the amazing spectacle became possible of a weak and sickly man at Rome, of slight frame and low stature, as he is described, sixty years old, without armies, without princely allies, sometimes destitute, as he said, of all help of man, contending fearlessly, to a great extent successfully, to establish a system against which the most powerful rulers of the Continent fought with the instinct of self-preservation, sometimes with the fierce energy of despair.

It would have been, it seems to us, the destruction

[1] Villemain, Hist. de Grég. VII., tom. ii. p. 66.

[2] Atque hoc in animo gerens, quod regum et imperatorum virtus, et universa mortalium conamina, contra apostolica jura et omnipotentiam summi Dei quasi favilla computentur et palea, nullius unquam instinctu vel fiducia adversus divinam et apostolicam auctoritatem obstinata temeritate te rebellem et pertinacem fieri libeat. — *Opera*, lib. iii. ep. viii.

of civilization, the conversion of the Church into an engine of remorseless oppression, if the scheme of Hildebrand had wholly prevailed. We find a measure of the progress of the centuries in the hopeless absurdity of putting such a scheme into practice to-day. But we may not forget that, as the matter appeared to him at the time, it was more than a contest even for the unity of Europe; it was a contest of the spiritual against the physical; of faith against force; of the poor and obscure against haughty oppressors; of that which was founded in the Divine order against that which had sprung from human self-will; in a word, it was the contest of God in His Church against the world, the flesh, and the devil. We may call the conscience which had formed itself in him a special, official, and secondary conscience, as artificial in nature as it was imperative and unsparing in impulse. I think, for myself, that it may be properly thus described. But it was his conscience at the time; and at its dictation he flung his life into the prodigious crucial combat with an unsparing energy. With absolute fearlessness of what man could do, he bore his own part in it. With an unrelaxing zeal he pursued it, till the day when he died at Salerno, in the early summer of A. D. 1085, a fugitive from his capital, a pensioner on his friends, exclaiming, with almost his latest breath, "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity; therefore I die in exile." The stormy pontificate of twelve years was ended there. The nearly seventy years of his life were finished, under heavy shadows, and the commanding and vehement spirit left at last the meagre, wearied, and wasted frame. But the consequences of his intrepid life and remarkable work long survived, and to their importance no reader of history can be blind.

Undoubtedly, the fiercest clash of the conflict, the echo of which has ever since resounded in the world, came in his persistent contest, ending only with his pontifical life, with Henry Fourth of Germany, whom he had recognized as king, and to whom he permitted the title of emperor, though refusing to crown him. Henry fought against Gregory by intrigue and by arms, with all the fury of his ambitious and passionate nature. A council of bishops, abbots, and lords, from all parts of the empire, convened by the king at Worms, A.D. 1076, pronounced Gregory an apostate monk, who had unlawfully seized the papacy, who used magical arts, who degraded theology by new doctrines, who mingled sacred things with profane, separated wives from their husbands, preferred adultery and incest to lawful marriage, deceived the people with a fictitious religion, was ruining the papacy, and was guilty of high treason. Therefore it proceeded to depose him, — a sentence which was hailed with joy by multitudes on the south of the Alps as well as in Germany. Gregory responded with a terrific anathema, and in turn declared Henry deposed, and loosed all Christian subjects from allegiance to him. With an emphasis possible to no other man, he set before Europe his favorite doctrine that civil and military dignities had been the product of an age which knew not God; that dukes and princes had come to exist because they had dared, in their blind passion and intolerable pride, to set themselves up by instigation of the Devil, and with the commission of every crime, as masters over men who had been created their equals; and that when they sought to make the priests of the Lord follow in their path, they were only to be compared to the Devil himself, who had said aforetime to the chief of all priests,

the Son of God, "all these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me." [1]

The fierce swing of the papal words was enough of itself to startle rude minds; and the terrible democracy of his appeal to peoples to disregard the authority of a king who had incurred the censure of the Church, — the apparently triumphant energy with which this son of a Tuscan mechanic, enthroned by the Church, faced the arts and the arms of one born in the purple, and called the faithful, of whatever rank, to disown and destroy his unrighteous power, — this stirred to its depths the mind of the Continent, as it had never before been stirred since Charlemagne became Emperor of the West. It frightened, long afterward, the eloquent Bossuet, when he thought of such a power as capable of being employed even against his magnificent sovereign. Undoubtedly, the Declaration of the clergy of France touching the ecclesiastical power, formulated by him, had here in part its motive.[2] Certainly the claim

[1] Quis nesciat reges et duces ab iis habuisse principium, qui, Deum ignorantes, superbia, rapinis, perfidia homicidiis, postremo universis pene sceleribus, mundi principe diabolo videlicet agitante, super pares, scilicet homines, dominari cæca cupiditate et intolerabili præsumptione affectaverunt? Qui videlicet, dum sacerdotes Domini ad vestigia sua inclinare contendunt, cui rectius comparentur quam ei qui est caput super omnes filios superbiæ, qui ipsum summum pontificem sacerdotum caput Altissimi Filium tentans, et omnia illi mundi regna promittens, ait: Hæc omnia tibi dabo, si procidens adoraveris me? — *Opera*, lib. viii. ep. xxi.; col. 596.

[2] His words are as clear and emphatic as language permits [A. D. 1682]: —

Que Saint Pierre et ses successeurs, vicaires de Iésus-Christ, et que toute l'Église même, n'ont reçu de puissance de Dieu que sur les choses spirituelles et qui concernent le salut, et non sur les choses temporelles et civiles: Iésus-Christ nous apprenant lui-même que son royaume n'est point de ce monde, et, en un autre endroit, qu'il faut rendre à César ce qui est à César, et à Dieu ce qui est à Dieu. . . . Nous déclarons en conséquence que les rois et les souverains ne sont soumis à aucune puissance ecclésiastique, par

of right put forth by Gregory was of stupendous height and reach. But he shrank not for a moment from the conflict which it challenged. Faith in the Church appeared to him, as in fact it was at that time in Europe, the only universal unifying force. The purified Church was not merely to train saintly men for the heavens, it was to educate, purify, and govern by its law the nations on the earth. He wrote to the legates sent by him to Germany, "You know that it appertains to the providential mission of the See Apostolic to judge in whatever businesses concern Christian commonwealths, and to regulate them by the dictates of righteousness."[1] He wrote to the same effect, not to Henry alone, or to Philip First of France, but to William the haughty conqueror of England, whose aid he desired, whose lack of ardor in his cause he reproved, and whose severity of temper he perfectly knew. To him he compared the pontificate to the sun, and royalty to the moon, while he

l'ordre de Dieu, dans les choses temporelles ; qu'ils ne peuvent être déposés directement ni indirectement par l'autorité des clefs de l'Église ; que leurs sujets ne peuvent être dispensés de la soumission et de l'obéissance qu'ils leur doivent, ou absous du serment de fidélité ; et que cette doctrine, nécessaire pour la tranquillité publique, et non moins avantageuse à l'Église qu'à l'état, doit être inviolablement suivie, comme conforme à la parole de Dieu, à la tradition des saints pères, et aux exemples des saints. — *Œuvres Choisies de Bossuet*, tom. v. pp. 335–336. Paris ed., 1822.

Bossuet's subsequent defence of the Declaration was elaborate, learned, and very eloquent; but he seems to have shrunk, six hundred years after, from direct collision with the words and acts of Gregory.

[1] Scitis enim quia nostri officii et apostolicæ sedis est providentiæ majora Ecclesiarum negotia discutere, et dictante justitia definire. Hoc autem quod inter eos agitur negotium tantæ gravitatis est tantique periculi, ut si a nobis fuerit aliqua occasione neglectum, non solum illis et nobis, sed etiam universali Ecclesiæ magnum et lamentabile pariat detrimentum. — *Epist.*, lib. iv. ep. xxiii.

The business in hand at that time was to decide whether Henry or Rudolph should be Emperor of Germany !

promised to the successful and masterful king further increase of power as the reward of an increase of piety.[1]

No doubt he was ambitious of success. No doubt what Villemain has excellently described as "the clever instinct of power" ["cet habile instinct du pouvoir"] taught him that such fierce domination of tone would have its effect on the stubborn natures which he addressed. But he certainly seems to have been sincere in his primary conviction that the purified Church should govern the Continent, govern the world; and that the secular order, even as represented by conquering kings, should be subordinate to the spiritual which Christ had ordained, of which the Holy Ghost was the perpetual vivifying energy, and of which it had come to pass that he for the time was the consecrated head.

His missionary activities went on all the time, while he was contending with such incessant and vehement vigor against the devices and arms of Henry. In Hungary, Bohemia, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, his efforts to extend Christianity were constant. He sent teachers, animated by his contagious enthusiasm, to those remote and inhospitable countries. He sought assiduously to draw young men from them, to be instructed at Rome in learning and religion. He was not afraid of the fury of the greatest. He was not unmindful of the crimes of the weaker. The Bishop of Cracow had been

[1] Sicut enim ad mundi pulchritudinem, oculis carneis diversis temporibus repræsentandam, solem et lunam omnibus aliis eminentiora disposuit luminaria, sic, ne creatura, quam sui benignitas ad imaginem suam in hoc mundo creaverat, in erronea et mortifera traheretur pericula, providit in apostolica et regia dignitate per diversa regeretur officia. Qua tamen majoritatis et minoritatis distantia religio sic se movet Christiana, ut cura et dispensatione apostolicæ dignitatis post Deum gubernetur regia. —*Opera*, lib. vii. ep. xxv.

The words of Gregory were repeated by Innocent Third, a century later.

assassinated, by the order of Boleslas, king of Poland, whom his reprimands had offended. Instantly, from the watchful pontiff, flashed forth an interdict on the kingdom. The churches were shut to all divine offices, the violent king was deposed, excommunicated, driven from his kingdom, and in his flight is said to have been killed and devoured by dogs. Whatever the faults of Hildebrand were, aside from the prolific primary error of confounding the pontificate with Christianity, it cannot be said that he was swayed from what to him appeared his just purpose by any threats or any flatteries; that he yielded or cringed before power; that he burdened the weak because they were weak, or tolerated and pardoned the sinner who was strong. He sacrificed the dearest ambition of his life — the initiation of a crusade to recover Jerusalem, which he had hoped to lead in person — to his determination to have Europe compacted, educated, and governed by a purified Church. Only once, I think, did he for a moment relax his decrees against the continuing and demoralizing simony, or on behalf of clerical celibacy. Toward the end of his life, when the difficulties in his path appeared insurmountable, when it looked as if the papacy itself must be fatally stricken by the forces against it, and chaos must follow, he undoubtedly did this, allowing a temporary suspension of the rigor of his rules.[1] With this exception he held to his standard of what to him appeared the purity of the Church, with its proper lordship over continent and world. He went even to the perilous

[1] His letter to his legates, in part, ran: Quod vero de sacerdotibus interrogastis, placet nobis ut impræsentiarum, tum propter populorum turbationes, tum etiam propter bonorum inopiam, scilicet quia paucissimi sunt qui fidelibus Christianis officia religionis persolvant, pro tempore rigorem canonicum temperando, debeatis sufferre. — *Opera*, lib. ix. ep. iii.

extreme of implicitly denying the objective validity of the sacraments, and conditioning their virtue on the personal character of the officiating priest, when he called the faithful to refuse those sacraments as administered by simoniacal prelates, or by those whom such had ordained.[1] The consequences of this came afterward, in effects from which Gregory himself might have shrunk; but at the time he did not hesitate. He threw his whole force, to the last atom, into the contest. Even the wide disuse of religious rites did not frighten him. He summoned the people to take part with him against all powers in Church or State which did not submit to his decrees, though under the terms of such decrees the new-born babe received no baptism, the penitent sinner no absolution, the dying no saving viaticum. He was determined on his end, and so far as the titular emperor was concerned it seemed in January, A.D. 1077, as if that end had been fully attained.

Excommunicated, and pontifically deposed, with rebellion constantly widening at home, deserted and ardently antagonized by his mother, perhaps with the superstitious fears natural to a violent and undisciplined mind awakening in him, Henry, in that year,

[1] Anno Domini MLXXIV., Gregorius sedit in cathedra Romana annis duodecim, mense uno, et tribus diebus, qui Hildebrandus vocatus antea fuerat. Iste Papa in synodo generali simoniacos excommunicavit, uxoratos sacerdotes a divino removit officio, et laicis missas eorum audire interdixit, novo exemplo et, ut multis visum est, inconsiderato judicio, contra sanctorum patrum sententiam, qui scripserunt, quod sacramenta quæ in ecclesia fiunt, baptisma, chrisma, corpus Christi et sanguis, Spiritu invisibiliter co-operante eorundem sacramentorum effectum, seu per bonos seu per malos intra Dei ecclesiam dispensentur; tamen quia Spiritus Sanctus mystice illa vivificat, nec bonorum meritis amplificantur, nec peccatis malorum attenuantur. Ex qua re tam grave oritur scandalum, ut nullius hæresis tempore sancta ecclesia graviori sit schismate discissa. — MATT. PARIS: *Chron. Majora*, ii. 12; an. 1074.

after all his defiances, was reduced to the memorable submission at Canossa, the story of which has never ceased to stir men's hearts with quite opposite emotions. No picture continues more distinct on the annals of the past. Climbing and crossing the icy Alps in the midst of winter,—the severest winter of the eleventh century, when nearly all the vines were killed, and when the Rhine was frozen till the middle of April,—attended only by the queen, their son, and the smallest unarmed escort, the king presented himself at the castle of Canossa, an impregnable fortress built on a rocky hill, encircled by a triple wall, in which Gregory at the time was staying. The place is now in ruins, and few travellers pause to view the remaining fragments of mounds and walls on their way from Reggio to Modena. But here was then a famous fortress, apparently of irreducible strength. For three days the humbled king waited in the space between the first and second walls, standing barefooted on the snow, and fasting until evening. On the fourth day he was admitted to the presence of the pontiff, with his feet still bare, in a penitential robe. Casting himself on the ground before Gregory, he entreated his pardon. The severe conditions of the forgiveness, with the consequent loosing of the anathema, had already been accepted by Henry, and the absolution followed. Chanting the psalms "Miserere mei, Domine" and "Deus misereatur," the pontiff struck the king on the shoulder with a slight switch at the end of each verse, and then, after prayer, resuming his mitre, declared him absolved and fully restored to the communion of the Church. He then proceeded to celebrate the Eucharist, inviting the king to partake with him; and then it must have been that he accepted for himself, and proposed to Henry, the

tremendous test, as it appeared to them both, of taking simultaneously the consecrated wafer, on condition that it should clear the recipient of the crimes imputed to him if he were innocent, or that the Lord, whose body was in it, should strike him there with sudden death if he were guilty.

Henry had broken treaties, would break them again, as if they had been spider-webs on his path; and it is not probable that he would have demurred to any number of formal oaths attesting his innocence. But he shrank appalled before that awful adjuration, and evaded the test. He thus went out from the presence of the pontiff apparently absolved, but as Gregory is reported to have said, "in fact more accusable than he had been;"[1] and from that time the sword never departed from his house. He fought, intrigued, again called a council, at Brixen in the Tyrol, for deposing the Pope and electing another. Such an one was elected,— Guibert, Archbishop of Ravenna,— and Henry conducted him with an army to Rome, which they together entered in triumph, after long delays, at Christmas, A.D. 1083. On the Palm Sunday following, Guibert

[1] Certe obediens erat rex Henrichus apostolicæ auctoritati, quando promiserat ad omnia quæ justa essent consensum præbere Romano pontifici, . . . donec in gratiam cum papa rediit et ad comprobandum ecclesiasticæ reconciliationis testimonium sacram communionem corporis et sanguinis Domini de manu eius accepit, mensam cum ipso papa adiit ac deinde dimissus est in pace, qualem scilicet pacem Judas simulavit, non qualem Christus reliquit. Nam tunc aderat et legatio Saxonum, hostium scilicet regis et Gregorianæ partis fautorum, et rescripsit eis quærentibus interrumpere omnibus modis initum reconciliationis pactum : *Ne solliciti*, inquit, *sitis, quoniam culpabiliorem eum reddo vobis.* — WALTRAMUS : *De Unitate Ecclesiæ* [*circa* 1090], lib. ii. 15.

Waltram makes no mention of the test proposed by Gregory and avoided by Henry, but the words of the pontiff cited by him have in that their natural occasion and explanation.

was consecrated Pope in St. Peter's, taking the title of Clement Third, and at Easter he gave to Henry the imperial crown. Subsequently, Rome was captured, ravaged and burned, by the southern Normans, with a multitude of Saracen allies, who had come to the relief of Gregory, and he was conducted to the Lateran palace. When they in turn left the ruined city, he followed them to Salerno, where, as I have said, in A.D. 1085, he died. But his system survived him; and Henry never recovered from the disasters which under the imperious and inplacable pontiff had fallen upon him. His sons successively rebelled against him; his wife, the empress, accused him before a council of what appear wholly incredible crimes; at times he was on the edge of suicide; and at last his unhappy and turbulent life was closed at Liège, A.D. 1106, after a reign of fifty years, and his diadem and sword were sent to the son who was at the time approaching him for battle.

Subsequently to his day no pontiff ever sought the imperial sanction of his election. It is a significant illustration of the vast momentum which Gregory had given to the system identified with his name, that even in the synod convened by Clement Third at Rome, while Gregory was practically a prisoner in St. Angelo,— a synod composed of those friendly to the Emperor and hostile to Gregory,— the principles and maxims which the latter had announced were essentially accepted. The excommunication of the Emperor was declared irregular, because he had not been heard in reply to the charges against him. But the right of the pontiff to excommunicate kings was left unchallenged. His maxims against simony, and the marriage of priests, were also repeated by Clement, though he carefully affirmed the validity of the sacraments as independent of

the character of the priest. Morally, if not physically, Hildebrand had conquered. His austere character, his daring spirit, the temper of the times, the inveterate tendencies which led all peoples to look to Rome for light and law, the craving for some securely established unity on the Continent, had given to his plans a power and predominance which continued for centuries, though he himself, with a tragic justice, must die in exile without the sight. After him, the only unity ever looked for in Europe was a unity under the papacy. Of an all-embracing secular empire no man anywhere longer dreamed.[1]

Following his death, after the brief pontificate of Victor Third, one of his friends, another of those friends, Otho, Bishop of Ostia, who had been trained at the same monastery of Clugni, who had been one of his legates and confidants, and who had been named by him as fit for the succession, was made pontiff, with the title of Urban Second; and he it was who, while insisting as strenuously as had Gregory himself on what to both appeared the necessary reform and supremacy of the Church, was able to carry out the immense conception of a European crusade to conquer for Christendom the holy places of the Gospels. This had been, as I have said, a favorite and an animating design with

[1] Nous sommes accoutumés à nous représenter Grégoire VII. comme un homme qui a voulu rendre toutes choses immobiles, comme un adversaire du développement intellectuel, du progrès social, comme un homme qui prétendait retenir le monde dans un système stationnaire ou rétrograde. Rien n'est moins vrai, Messieurs ; Grégoire VII. était un réformateur par la voie du despotisme, comme Charlemagne et Pierre-le-Grand. Il a voulu réformer l'Église, et par l'Église la société civile ; y introduire plus de moralité, plus de justice, plus de règle ; il a voulu le faire par le Saint-Siége et à son profit. — GUIZOT : *Hist. de la Civil. en Europe*, pp. 178, 179. Paris ed., 1846.

Gregory, who had publicly announced it in a circular letter to the faithful as early as A.D. 1074, and who had especially asked the support for it of Henry of Germany. The plan in his time could not be realized. The success of Urban in carrying it out is of itself a demonstration of the immense impulse which had come to the Church, with the almost incalculable advance achieved in the general European spirit of energy and courage. From Europe under the foul domination of Benedict Ninth to Europe under the pupil of Hildebrand, the change is almost as great as from one planet to another; and the finally successful effort to combine severed and hostile States for the vast and costly common enterprise in the East shows how the invigorated Church was renewing the public unity which after Charlemagne had seemed hopelessly lost.

The outline of the remarkable story may be rapidly recalled. Ten years after the death of Gregory, A.D. 1095, a vast assembly of thousands of the clergy and ten thousands of the laity was gathered at Piacenza — the Italian city lying midway between Milan and Parma — to meet the new pontiff. No roof being vast enough to cover the assembly, its meetings were held in open fields outside the city. The envoys of the Eastern Emperor were present, to ask the aid of Western Christendom against Saracen and Turk. The hearts of the excitable multitudes were deeply stirred by pathetic appeals, and the hour for the movement appeared to have come. But Urban, with adroit sagacity, deferred its full inauguration to a time and a place yet more opportune. In the autumn of the same year he met a still larger assembly, at Clermont in Auvergne. Peter the Hermit had previously traversed the kingdom, with his terrible narrative of the murder and

outrage inflicted on pilgrims when seeking the holy sepulchre of the Lord, and with fierce exhortations founded upon the bloody story. Urban had given him, a year before, pontifical sanction for his mission. The impetuous French people, always responsive to high and remote imaginative conceptions, had been tumultuously aroused by his words, and were ready to be swept into a general delirium of passion. The country was volcanic,[1] the council full of irrepressible fire; and when Urban, himself a Frenchman, ascended the lofty temporary scaffold and began his address, it seemed to those who heard him as if the inspiration of God were as plainly present as it had been at Pentecost. Three reports of his speech have remained, but all agree in the substance of his appeal. It was for the rescue from defiling infidel possession of the royal city which the Divine Redeemer had made illustrious by His residence, had hallowed by His passion, had purchased by His cross, had gloriously crowned by His resurrection. When he closed — this ruler of kings, this official head of the recombined Christendom, this earthly vice-gerent of God — with the thought that they were not really called to surrender home-ties in this far expedition, since to the Christian all the earth is a place of exile while in another and better sense all the earth is his home, and with the august pontifical promise that leaving patrimonies here they should attain better in the kingdom of heaven, and that dying in this service they should

[1] Michelet has described it well: Vaste incendie éteint, aujourd'hui paré presque partout d'une forte et rude végétation. Le noyer pivote sur le basalte, et le blé germe sur la pierre ponce. Les feux intérieurs ne sont pas tellement assoupis que certaine vallée ne fume encore, et que les *étouffis* du Mont-Dor ne rappellent la Solfatare et la Grotte du Chien. Villes noires, bâties de lave, Clermont, Saint-Flour, etc. — *Hist. de France*, tom. ii. pp. 35, 36. Paris ed., 1835.

live forever, with their sins washed away, in the mansions of the Blessed,—the universal, passionate cry, "God wills it! God wills it!" broke from the assembly as of old the flame and molten lava had burst from the cloven hills around them. Red cloths and stuffs were not abundant enough to furnish crosses. All over France, all over Europe, swept the swift, impassionating contagion; and the power of the Pontiff, of the Church represented by him before Europe, rose as in a moment to such a pitch of eminence and of splendor as Gregory Seventh in his wildest dreams could scarcely have imagined. It was in large part the outcome of his work, though he had seemed to struggle vainly for the effect, to die at last in painful discomfiture. His intrepid spirit and indomitable zeal for the mastery of the Church over disunited States presided still in the councils of Christendom.

The effect of the crusade thus initiated was to stimulate, to a degree before unexampled, the general mind of Western Europe; to unite the peoples in sympathetic alliance for a magnificent enterprise, on behalf of a remote and ideal end; to bring forth whatever chivalric quality was common to different classes in the State, and to loosen in a measure the constraining bonds of that severing feudalism which had not only manacled but practically destroyed general society. It made the peasant as well as the prince the soldier of the cross. It compelled a wide and beneficent distribution of estates. It gave increase of wealth to merchants and artisans, who provided the vast equipment for the hosts. It expanded and lifted the popular thought, before wholly occupied with local affairs and with neighboring strifes. It brought Europe and Asia face to face, as till then they had not been since the

early Empire was divided. It tended in many ways to make the last decade of the eleventh century a widely different period from either of the three gloomy decades with which it had begun. A wholly new freedom and energy of movement became evident in it, prophetic of things still better to come.

After Urban Second had passed away, closing eleven years of pontifical service, another friend and pupil of Hildebrand, also for a time a monk at Clugni, was placed upon the papal throne, under the title of Paschal Second; and he it was who saw Henry Fourth compelled at last, by the treachery of his son, to seek final release from the ban of the Church, and to surrender his empire. But the same pontiff saw also the son and successor of the dethroned monarch master of Rome, after a destroying march through Italy, master of his own person, of the Vatican and St. Peter's; he saw himself compelled to crown the conquering monarch, and to make with him a solemn treaty in which much was yielded for which Gregory had tenaciously fought. Germany, in other words, had not been crushed by all the calamities which she had suffered. Hildebrand had builded better than he knew. The recoil of his blows had been equal to the stroke. The people had been aroused by the fierce democracy of his appeal, while the Church had been partially purified; and though for a time it seemed as if the papacy would become too strong for civilization, in the final effect it had to accept the imperative demands of secular advance and social order.[1]

[1] To many thoughtful and dispassionate minds even the gigantic power wielded by the popes during the middle ages will appear justifiable in itself (though they will repudiate the false pretensions on which it was founded, and the false opinions which were associated with it), since only by such

Other movements, doctrinal, spiritual, rather than strictly ecclesiastical, belong also to the close of this century; and other great names give it lustre in history. The impulse which wrought in it had become inherent, was no longer imported and dependent. It was general, therefore, not local; and it found expression in many strong characters.

Peter Damiani, whom I have already mentioned, belongs in his public life chiefly to the third quarter of the century, having died in A.D. 1072; but his influence continued after his death, and indeed was long a presence in the Church. Of somewhat narrow mind, no doubt, and of a harsh and vehement temper, but faithful to his convictions, fearless of opposition, while ascetic in his habits, and intensely zealous for the purity of the Church, he rose from low conditions in life — according to some a deserted child, compelled to turn swineherd — to the high rank of bishop and cardinal, the offices being thrust upon him without his wish, and almost against his final consent. His aims were well-nigh fanatically practical; yet he made himself familiar, as abundantly appears, with the Latin classics. He loved solitude better than society, yet he took without shrinking a prominent and a dangerous part in public affairs when summoned by the Pope. The eulogist of hermits, the inventor of a new and severe form of penance, the intrepid critic and censor of pontiffs when they seemed to him to need it, laying down at last his cardinal's hat to become abbot of a monastery, he left behind him a lesson of character and of self-subduing

a providential concentration of authority could the Church, humanly speaking, have braved the storms of those ages of anarchy and violence. — Bp. LIGHTFOOT: *Appendix to Comm. on Philippians*, p. 244. London ed., 1879.

example more important and fruitful than any lesson of his treatises or his sermons, his letters, or his lives of the saints. A translated stanza of the celebrated hymn, "De gloria et gaudiis Paradisi," which was probably composed by him on a suggestion from the writings of Augustine, gives perhaps as clearly as anything the key to his career: —

"Grant me vigor, while I labor
In the ceaseless battle pressed,
That Thou mayest, the conflict over,
Grant me everlasting rest;
That I may at length inherit
Thee, my Portion, ever blest."[1]

The vehemence of the warrior, the narrowness of the monk, were blended in him with the ardent faith and hope of the Christian.

Lanfranc, whose name will be memorable in history while the English annals continue to be read, was of the same century, born A.D. 1005, and dying in England A.D. 1089. Born in Pavia, of a family which gave him opportunities for distinction, having been educated for the bar, having followed for some time the profession of an advocate, and having himself subsequently founded an important seminary at Avranches in Normandy, he at length sought admission to the monastery at Bec, — "the Bec," more properly, the name coming from a rivulet flowing near, — and there adopted fully the monastic life. Ascetic in spirit, but courtly in manner, of wide and cultivated practical sagacity, with the highest repute for logic and learning, he became prior of the monastery, and then of the larger one at Caen. At

[1] The entire hymn, of sixty-one lines, is found in Daniel's "Thesaurus Hymnologicus," tom. i. pp. 116, 117. Leipsic ed., 1855. It is there attributed, however, to Augustine.

length he was called by William the Conqueror, who knew and honored his remarkable capacity and character, to be archbishop of Canterbury; and at the command of Alexander Second, he accepted the office. To him both the Church and the State of England were largely indebted for the influence which he successfully exerted on William and his successor. The genius of the statesman was combined in him with a devout piety. The comments upon the epistles of Saint Paul attributed to him show attentive Biblical studies. His contest with Berengarius, on the real presence of the Lord in the Eucharist, exhibits the eager and skilled theologian. But his personal spirit was the instrument of his noblest achievements. The character which all recognized in him, with the restraint and dignity of his life, rebuked the dissoluteness, encouraged the aspiration for purity, of both of which the age was full.

A greater thinker, a more profound theologian, succeeded him in the See of Canterbury, — the illustrious Anselm, the memory of whom those widely severed from the communion of which he was the glory still hold in their hearts. Also of Italian parentage, born in Aosta, under the shadow of the Alps, A.D. 1033, he also died at Canterbury, seventy-six years after, A.D. 1109. After a beautiful childhood, in which he thought heaven to be upon the top of the mountains to whose shining splendor he looked up, and to whose summits he went in his dreams to see the Lord,[1] by the death of

[1] Ingrediens itaque puer, a Domino vocatur. Accedit, atque ad pedes ejus sedet. Interrogatur jucunda affabilitate quis sit, vel unde, quidve velit. Respondet ille ad interrogata, juxta quod rem esse sciebat. Tunc ad imperium Domini panis ei nitidissimus per dapiferum affertur, eoque coram ipso reficitur. Mane igitur cum quid viderit ante oculos mentis reduceret, sicut puer simplex et innocens, se veraciter in cœlo et ex pane

his mother "the anchor of his heart was lost, and it was thrown almost a wreck on the waves of the world."[1] Keenly alive, however, to the attractions of study and of thought, and with the impulse to a nobler spiritual life striving against whatever had been irregular in his habit, he also came to the monastery of Bec, became its prior, and afterward its abbot; and finally, after the death of Lanfranc, followed him, with great personal reluctance, to the ecclesiastical throne of England. The sixteen years of his archiepiscopal life were years of struggle, vicissitude, and at times of apparent defeat. An important part of them was passed in exile. But he served England as nobly as any native hero could have done, through his intrepid and masterful spirit, which the furious will of William Rufus could not bend, while his large and rich intellectual work has made the Church of Christ from that day to this his constant debtor.

He has justly been called "the Augustine of the Middle Age." Not surpassing others of his time, perhaps, in mere dialectical acuteness and force, he had an aptitude which no other showed for intent, continuous, and profound meditation on the sublimest and most difficult themes. His renowned ontological argument for the existence of God — not wholly original with himself, but completing and surpassing other forms of the argument — still commands the admiration even of those who do not wholly accept it, while to not a few of the greater philosophical minds of modern time it has

Domini refectum fuisse credebat, hocque coram aliis ita esse publice asserebat. — EADMER: *Vita S. Anselmi*, lib. i.

No doubt Eadmer heard the story from Anselm himself.

[1] Defuncta vero illa, illico navis cordis ejus, quasi anchora perdita, in fluctus seculi pene tota dilapsa est. — *Ibid.*

seemed sufficient. On the concord between Divine foreknowledge and human freedom he largely meditated, and to the work of showing the essential harmony between them he gave enthusiastic endeavor; while his famous treatise, "Cur Deus Homo," which aims to set forth the moral ground of the incarnation, and to present a sufficient exposition of the atonement, makes him pre-eminent among the Christian thinkers of his time. It is not too much to say that it revolutionized the thought of Europe on that majestic and vital theme. To the end, his mind was engaged in like manner. As Palm Sunday dawned, while his brethren were sitting around him, when one of them said, "Lord Father, we apprehend that you are about to leave the world for your Lord's Easter court," his reply was, "If this be His will, I shall gladly obey it; but if He chooses rather that I shall remain among you a little longer, until I am able to solve a question on which I am reflecting, on the origin of the soul, I shall thankfully receive it, since I know not whether any one will finish the work when I am gone."[1] A profound thinker, an illustrious teacher, a mighty kindler of thought in others, austere in life, uncompromising in discipline, yet wonderfully sweet and affectionate in sympathy, affable, gracious, of a supreme piety,— ready to take hell, with unblemished purity, rather than to be thrust into heaven while stained with sin,[2] — it is no wonder that men

[1] Repondit: Equidem si voluntas ejus in hoc est, voluntati ejus libens parebo. Verum si mallet me adhuc inter vos saltem tam diu manere, donec quæstionem, quam de animæ origine mente revolvo, absolvere possem, gratiosus acciperem, eo quod nescio utrum aliquis eam me defuncto sit absoluturus. — EADMER: *Vita S. Anselmi*, lib. ii.

[2] Conscientia mea teste non mentior, quia sæpe illum sub veritatis testimonio profitentem audivimus, quoniam si hinc peccati horrorem, hinc inferni dolorem corporaliter cerneret, et necessario uni eorum immergi

loved him as few have deserved to be loved; that miracles were attributed to him in life, and that beautiful portents were believed to attend his burial. It was not till the close of the fifteenth century that he was formally canonized. It was not till the last century that his name was enrolled on the pontifical list of Church authorities. But centuries before, Dante had seen him, you remember, in his vision of Paradise, among the spirits of light and power in the sphere of the sun. With prophets, theologians, jurists, he saw him; with Thomas Aquinas and Hugo of St. Victor, with Bonaventura the "seraphic doctor," with Nathan the Seer, with the sainted Chrysostom. Certainly the age was neither intellectually nor morally sterile, nor wanting in strong spiritual impulse, which could present such a product as the genius and spirit of Anselm.

Nor merely by the appearance of illustrious men is that new impulse which wrought in Europe in the latter part of the eleventh century made apparent. Discussions arose, and were eagerly prosecuted, which before would have seemed impossible. Institutions were founded, or were vastly enlarged, from which subsequent times took instruction and courage. The doctrine of the Real Presence of the Lord in the wafer came to the front, and keenly stirred the minds of many. Berengarius of Tours, following in the line of John Erigena, maintained that the body of the Lord was there spiritually only, not corporeally, to be received by the heart not by the mouth, the bread and the wine continuing in their substance unchanged. His opinion was not approved, but condemned. Lanfranc wrote forcibly against it. At a synod at Rome, A.D. 1050, and at subsequent synods and coun-

deberet; prius infernum, quam peccatum, appeteret. — EADMER: *Vita S. Anselmi*, ii. 16.

cils on to A.D. 1079, the opinion attributed to him was contradicted and anathematized, and he was more than once in peril of his life. But the fact that the question was mooted at all, with the further facts that argument was employed against him, that many others agreed with his thought, and that no great final severity was exercised toward him though he had spoken contemptuously both of pontiffs and of the Roman Church, — these show a positive moral advance from the dreary torpor of the previous century.[1] The appearance and propagation of even extreme heretical opinions, at the theological school at Orléans and elsewhere, show the same prophetic ferment in the mind of the West. It can hardly be reckoned without significance that in this century first came to European hands, in cotton paper, a new instrument for recording and communicating thought, in place of the scarce and costly parchment. Its use was at first exceptional and infrequent; but more and more it was sure to give extended facilities for chronicles, correspondence, and the careful exhibition of whatever men believed.

Convents were multiplied and enriched in the century, in consequence, partly, of the large gifts bestowed upon them by those who in its earlier years had expected the near end of the world. The Grande Chartreuse, near Grenoble, was thus founded by Bruno of Cologne, A.D. 1084; the Abbey of Citeaux, by Robert of Molesme, under the protection of the Duke of Burgundy in A. D. 1098. The magnificent Abbey of St. Benignus, at Dijon, had been founded earlier, and was already extensive and powerful, while Clugni was a

[1] It is to be remembered that not until A.D. 1215, under Innocent Third, did the doctrine of Transubstantiation become a formulated dogma of the Church.

renowned seminary for bishops and pontiffs. The Abbey of St. Evroult, made famous by Ordericus Vitalis, began in the middle of the century; and even the ancient monastery of Monte Cassino only finished its magnificent church in A.D. 1070.

Meantime, all over the Continent, other churches were arising, more vast and stately than before had been known, in consequence of the recent riches contributed for them. The fears of the vicious had conspired with the devotion of the pious. The prophecy ascribed to Merlin had been accomplished, and gold had been extracted from both the nettle and the lily. As Raoul Glaber said, after the threatened day of doom, all Christian peoples seemed to contend with each other which should raise the most superb churches. "It was as if the whole world had thown off the rags of its ancient time, and had come to apparel itself in the white robe of the churches."[1] St. Mark's, at Venice, was not finished till the end of the century, to be by us freshly admired after eight hundred years. The cathedral of Pisa, wonderful alike for its grand proportions and the charming completeness of its melodious details, begun in A.D. 1015, was also finished with the century. The cathedrals of Siena, Modena, Parma, and other Italian cities, belong to the same age; while in northern Europe the new and urgent spiritual forces were equally breaking into sudden exhibition in immense and lovely structures. The church at Freyburg in Baden, in which Bernard afterward preached the cru-

[1] Igitur infra supradictum millesimum tertio jam fere imminente anno, contigit in universo pene terrarum Orbe, præcipue tamen in Italia et in Galliis, innovari Ecclesiarum Basilicas. . . . Æmulabatur tamen quæque gens Christicolarum adversus alteram decentiore frui; erat enim instar ac si mundus ipse excutiendo semet, rejecta vetustate, passim candidam Ecclesiarum vestem indueret. — *Hist. sui temp.*, lib. iii. cap. iv.

sade, belonged to this period. Strasburg, Mayence, Trèves, Worms, Basel, Brussels, Dijon, bloomed into the beauty of their superb churches. The cathedral of Chartres, always since renowned in Europe, with its pointed arches, flying buttresses, and the marvellous glass which even the fires of Revolution have spared, was begun about A. D. 1060, though principally finished a century later. The wonderful Abbey Church at Clugni, 580 feet in length, 120 in width, continuing almost to our time, was commenced in A.D. 1089, while the full reach of its massive magnificence was only subsequently attained. The cathedrals at Autun and Poictiers, the Abbey Church at Vézelai, with St. Stephen's at Caen, and many others, are of the same time. All northern Europe was flowering into Christian architecture, delicate and mighty, as Alpine slopes with sudden exuberance clothe themselves in wealth of blooms when the icy fetters have been removed.

Education revived, and the old plans of Charlemagne were once more put into wide operation, as schools were established in important cathedral towns for the instruction of youth, with the training of men for the offices of the priesthood. Libraries of manuscripts began to be gathered more numerously and largely; and from the collections started at this time the modern world derives not a few of its most prized vellums. One, at least, of the sweetest of the mediæval hymns is attributed to this period,—the "Veni Sancte Spiritus." The Breviary took its completed form in the middle of the century, from which the Anglican Prayer-book has derived much of its dignity and charm.[1] A

[1] The history of the Breviary, not only from the time that it came as a book, so-called, into use, about A.D. 1050, but from the very commencement of the gradual process of its formation, is a great desideratum, per-

new fervor in preaching, expressing new fervor of thought and zeal, prepared the way for that preaching in the vernacular among different peoples which afterward became a general practice. The study of jurisprudence received at the same time a memorable impulse. It was not until A. D. 1135 that the city of Amalfi was captured by the Pisans, after which the famous copy of the Pandects of Justinian now in the Laurentian Library at Florence, and formerly shown there as an almost sacred book, was transferred to Pisa. But the picturesque story which made that the source of all other copies of the Pandects, and of the culture which came to Europe from the revived study of Roman Law, was long since disproved by Muratori and Savigny. Irnerius, with whom learned investigation of the laws of Justinian appears to have commenced, was already lecturing in Bologna at an early date in the eleventh century. Other teachers were associated with him. Many students were gathered around them. Glosses were made, or marginal interpretations of obscure words and sentences in the text; and not only the relations of men in society became in a measure defined and liberalized, but the general teaching mind of the Continent took enlargement and increase of light from this ampler study of that ancient jurisprudence which had expressed the public ethical reason of the Empire.

Poetic feeling began at the same time to press toward harmonious expression, among peoples before unfamil-

haps *the* great desideratum in ritualistic works: the treatise of Grancolas supplying but a very small part of what is wanted. . . . While the beauty of our Prayer-book is but the faint shadow of the beauty of the Breviary, it would be much easier to correct the former by amplification than the latter by diminution. — DR. J. M. NEALE: *Essays on Liturgiology*, pp. 2, 4. London ed., 1867.

iar with it and dwelling widely apart. The Troubadour period in France was already begun. That which followed in Germany was still in the future, since the Hohenstauffen princes, under whom it chiefly appeared, only came to the throne in the following century. But already the earliest Minnesingers were chanting their lays of faith and love and knightly valor,— of nature in her delightful aspects, of womanhood in its sweet majesty, and of the comic and tragic in human life. In Provence, still earlier, such singers had appeared. William of Guienne, whose lyric art was famous in his time, was born in A.D. 1070; and Courts of Love, at which bards recited in lyric competition, were held in Provence and in Catalonia before the end of the century. The *Chanson de Roland*, reported to have been sung by Taillefer before William of Normandy and his army, was evidently familiarly known before that time. One cannot yet trace the origin in Germany of the Nibelungenlied, or of the Gudrun, and the subsequent parts of the Helden-Buch; but certainly the legends which found in them their composite expression had long before become current among the people, as had been that of the Reineke Fuchs.[1] It is indeed nowise impossible

[1] This Middle High-German Epic (the Nibelungenlied) is like an old church, in the building of which many architects have successively taken part, some of whom have scrupulously adhered to the original designs of their predecessors, while others have arbitrarily followed their own devices; little minds have added paintings, scrolls, and side-wings, and Time has thrown over the whole the grey veil of age, so that the general impression is a noble one. . . . The whole may have been finished in about twenty years, from 1190 to 1210. . . . Even those who believe in the single authorship of the poem must acknowledge that the poet derived the substance of his work from older lays, . . . and that the internal disparities are explained by the various songs made use of by the author. . . . The author of the Nibelungenlied cannot be known. — W. SCHERER: *Hist. Germ. Lit.*, vol. i. pp. 102–103. Oxford ed., 1886.

that parts of the famous "Hero Book" may have been connected as has sometimes been surmised, through a survival of the fittest, with Charlemagne's collection of popular heroic songs. The most ancient Icelandic Edda goes back probably to the same century. It will not be denied, therefore, that true poetry was there, though that in whose equally exquisite substance and form the following times have found delight does not yet appear. The bold and brilliant image of Carlyle finds constant illustration in literary history: "Action strikes fiery light from the rock it has to hew through; poetry reposes in the skyey splendor which that rough passage has led to." [1]

In a word it may be said, certainly, with no hesitation, that the eleventh century, after the first third of it had passed, constituted a period not of passive transition, but of active and powerful transformation, through which the peoples of Europe passed from the foul darkness of the tenth Christian age into the comparatively clearer light and more healthful air of those which followed. The reaction in the Church toward purity in

The story [of Gudrun] attained its fullest development in the Netherlands, probably in the eleventh century. . . . The story was known in Bavaria before the year 1100, and was treated in a celebrated poem not preserved to us, but referred to by the clerical poets of the twelfth century. About the year 1210 a poet of remarkable talent made it his theme. His work, like the songs of the Nibelungen epic, was afterwards much added to by other poets, and we have it in this enlarged form in a late manuscript. — *Ibid.*, p. 125.

The court of the Hohenstaufen was the centre of life for the whole southwest of Germany. . . . The minstrels were probably well received there throughout the twelfth century; the only one whom we know by name, a certain Heinrich der Glichezare, made translations from the French, at the commission of an Alsatian nobleman, and in this way produced the oldest German poem on Reineke Fuchs. — *Ibid.*, p. 146.

[1] **Miscellanies**, iv. 394. Boston ed.

officials, and toward its enfranchisement from secular powers, or even an asserted supremacy over them which was to be conditioned upon such purity, contributed, as I think, to this effect. It was the most signal failure in history, so far as it aimed at complete papal domination over States. But for the time it gave a new and needed sense of unity to Europe, in which was the condition of further progress. Under theocratic forms it revived and surpassed the earlier Empire. It made peoples more free, in the consciousness of constant possible access to a superior spiritual tribunal, while it made kings less sharply tyrannic. When the first most impassioned crusade had come to its triumphant success in the capture of Jerusalem, on Friday, the fifteenth of July, in the last year of the century,—at the same hour of the day, it was reverently remembered, at which the Lord had been crucified,—the fruit of it was not principally in the aggrandizement of priesthood or of pontiff, but in the new relations which peoples professing the Christian faith came thenceforth to sustain to each other; in widened thought, as distant regions were brought nearer; in an educated capacity for combined effort in immense and costly enterprise. Then followed, in natural sequence, the more generous and elaborate cultivation of knighthood, the freshly religious and consecrated tone taken by chivalry, the distinct loosening of feudal bonds, the wide and useful exchange of estates. It was not lost, that blood poured out on the sands of the East. Europe gained from it what it had not expected, but what was worth more to it than would have been the possession for all time of all holy places.

Ladies, and Gentlemen: I have tried thus, however imperfectly, to outline before you the period which pre-

ceded the lifetime of Bernard, that we may have before us as plainly as possible the condition to which the Europe of his experience had at length been brought through the slow travail of suffering centuries. It is in that Europe of the twelfth century — after Hildebrand, after Urban, when the first crusade had stirred with vast whirl European society — that we are to place him and his work. I can only hope that by this prolonged though rapid résumé I may have helped to a clearer apprehension of the particular environment of his life. Heavy and noisome shadows from the past brooded over it still, as I need not remind you. Elements of fierce evilness contended in it with incipient forces of good. Its annals clash with shock of arms; they ring with outcries of defiance or despair; they reverberate with the quarrels of high officers in the Church; they record intrigues, stratagems, combats, and they echo anathemas. The crudest thought, the most childish superstition, confront us often in places of authority, wielding at will destroying weapons. Poverty was unbounded, and the privilege of power was commonly reckoned the opportunity to oppress. It was, beyond doubt, a hard century to live in. Except for the deep instinct of life which calamities had not crushed, and which even the ruder forms of Christianity always cherish and renew, it may well seem to us that the burdens of life would have been to many intolerably severe, that suicide as a refuge would have come to be familiar.

But after all, as we step forth into it from the terrible period which had followed the end of Charlemagne's empire, we are greeted with many encouraging signs of recent advance and of probable progress. The seemingly mad and hopeless chaos of the tenth century, and

of part of the eleventh, is at any rate behind us. The Empire, though again re-erected in name, has lost its former ecumenical character; it no longer extends across the Continent, and the vast area formerly embraced in it is being broken up into separate kingdoms, politically divided, though morally allied. Larger freedom of development has thus come to each, while the higher influences, subordinated before to imperial will, have henceforth a broadened range. A common ecclesiastical life pervades the kingdoms. Territorial imperialism has practically given place to a more commanding empire over souls. Military establishments are not as conspicuous and controlling as they were, and moral forces have new opportunity. The popes have come to be decent persons, and in many directions the exercise of their power is not unhelpful to general welfare. There is, on the whole, an increasing sensibility in the popular mind to what is high and rare in character, an increasing spirit of confident hope for better times, an increasing readiness to follow the lead of those in any station in whom benevolence, piety, learning, and courage are plainly united, while they are masters as well of the mystery and power of eloquent speech. The need of such men was never greater than at that time in Europe. The opportunity before them was certainly more ample than it had been in perhaps any century before; and we cannot be mistaken in feeling that a true genius for moral command then appearing, and working in sympathy with the new age, must find openings, and be conscious of incentives, hardly surpassed even in later and pleasanter centuries.

Wide general tendencies are coming before us to partial exhibition, in which one sees prophetic indications. The huddled huts around feudal castles are be-

ginning, at least, to grow toward villages, which are to ripen into communes, and to furnish the nests of future liberties. Halls like that of William Rufus, rising at Westminster, though designed at first only for princely entertainments, are destined to become the memorable scenes of much that is grandest in the history of states. The life of the Cid, which closed with the eleventh century,[1] and which gave inspiration to the oldest Spanish poem, which distinguished critics have also, you know, pronounced the finest,[2] shows, through whatever subsequent embellishment, the signally romantic and chivalrous temper toward which men's eyes were fondly turned. A new expectation was beginning to be manifest in the spirit of society, as well as in the Church; and with it came, not suddenly but in gradual development, new wideness of purpose, a fresh courage, more reliance on moral forces, a more animating hope. There was certainly a turn, distinctly apparent, toward better times; and it may not seem without significance that it was at the close of the eleventh century in its last decade that the pontiff, Urban Second, ordered the bells

[1] At Valencia, A. D. 1099.

[2] It is, indeed, a work which, as we read it, stirs us with the spirit of the times it describes; and as we lay it down and recollect the intellectual condition of Europe when it was written, and for a long period before, it seems certain that, during the thousand years which elapsed from the time of the decay of Greek and Roman culture down to the appearance of the "Divina Commedia," no poetry was produced so original in its tone, or so full of natural feeling, picturesqueness, and energy. — TICKNOR: *Hist. of Span. Lit.*, vol. i. pp. 22, 23.

Sanchez is of opinion that it [the poem] was composed about the middle of the twelfth century, some fifty years after the death of the Cid; there are some passages which induce me to believe it the work of a contemporary. Be that as it may, it is unquestionably the oldest poem in the Spanish language. In my judgment it is as decidedly and beyond all comparison the finest. — SOUTHEY: *Chronicle of the Cid*, p. 9. London ed., 1808.

to be rung in the churches before sunrise and sunset, to call the people to give thanks and to pray. So the "Angelus" and the "Ave Maria," the chimes so called from the first words of the orisons appointed, came to be widely heard in Europe. They rang out the old time, and they rang in the new. It is beneath their prophesying music that we come at last to the more limited personal theme henceforth to engage us; for it was at almost exactly the same time, A.D. 1091, that the life of Bernard began in Burgundy.

LECTURE III.

BERNARD, IN HIS PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS.

LECTURE III.

BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX: HIS PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS.

I VENTURE to hope that in the preceding lectures some things have become apparent which are important to a fair estimate of Bernard and his work; these three, at least: that a distinct change toward better things had got itself established before the close of the eleventh century, giving reasonable hope of a subsequent slow but progressive improvement in the moral life of Europe and its social conditions; that this change had taken its rise, and continued to have the centre of its support, not in any plan of nobles or kings, or of the peoples who were passive before them, but in men of the Church, who had at heart the interests of Christ's kingdom as they understood that, and who were joyfully ready to strive and suffer on its behalf; and therefore that a man of consecrated spirit, coming to his place in the following century, if endowed with genius for command, intense convictions, an energetic and inspiring will, would have opportunities for a wider work than had been possible before. Ambitions were still fierce, passions savage, oppressions enormous, wrongs innumerable; but reaction had come from long periods of terrific decadence. Tendencies toward a brighter future were now positively inaugurated in Western

Christendom. There was more of just hopefulness for the victory of good forces. A general and influential European opinion was coming to be possible, if not already beginning to be manifest. And one who should stand apart from his contemporaries in unique spiritual quality and power, whether with or without any distinguished titular rank, might thereafter impel and guide with new efficiency both those in high station and the common populations.

If these things are as evident to you as to me, the purpose of the previous lectures has been accomplished, and we are ready to set the slender and shining figure of Bernard amid the times to which he gave elevation and lustre. The impulses which moved him, the ends which he sought, even the methods by which he pursued his unselfish aims, will become more clear to our apprehension; and some of the facts in his extraordinary life, which otherwise we might be tempted perhaps to remit to the realm of legend or romance, will stand before us in definite outline, in the unprismatic light of history.

He was born, as I have said, in Burgundy, at his father's castle of Fontaines, two miles or so from the city of Dijon, in the year A.D. 1091. He was named, probably, for his mother's father, Bernard, the feudal lord of Mont Bar, a few miles distant.

The province of Burgundy was at that time, as since, as Michelet has said, "a goodly land, where cities put vine branches into their coats-of-arms, where everybody calls everybody else brother or cousin, — a country of good livers and of joyous Christmases."[1] Its verdurous slopes and sunny plateaux have been the birthplace of men and women whose eloquence in speech

[1] Hist. de France, tom. ii. p. 92. Paris ed., 1835.

or whose singular grace and charm in writing have adorned the literature, and in a measure have shaped the spirit, of the French people. Bossuet was born there,— the skilful disputant, the voluminous author, the counsellor of kings, and perhaps the most eloquent preacher in France after Bernard. Buffon was born there, whose wide research and poetic intuition of natural law made an era in the annals of physical science, and whose name is familiar wherever the science is pursued. Madame de Sévigné was probably born there, at the Château de Bourbilly, whose spirited letters — playful, piquant, affectionate, thoughtful — have been a delight to successive generations. Crébillon the elder, whose success as a tragic poet exasperated Voltaire, was born at Dijon. So was Piron, whose witty epigrams were famous in their time. Diderot was born a few leagues away; while, in more recent times, Lamartine was a Burgundian, who so surprisingly combined the poet and historian with the practical statesman and the popular leader, as was a little later Edgar Quinet, the enthusiastic interpreter of the German mind to the French, the brilliant essayist and lecturer upon modern civilization. The skies of Burgundy have thus for centuries ripened wits as well as wines; and the order of the Golden Fleece, instituted there three centuries after Bernard, for the glory of knighthood and of the Church, only fairly represented, in name at least, the wealth and the warmth of the prosperous province.

The immediate political relations of the province when Bernard was born were with the French kingdom, the other parts of the earlier kingdom of Burgundy, or Arles, having been detached from it, and a descendant of Hugh Capet being its powerful local sov-

ereign. Eight countships — of Dijon, Mâcon, Châlons-sur-Saône, Auxonne, Sémur, Nevers, Auxerre, and Charollais — were included in it; and the dukes of Burgundy, through the extent and richness of their territory, as well as by hereditary royal relationship, were the most powerful peers in France. They were not merely prudent in counsel and brave in battle, but, according to the standard of the times, they were distinctly religious men. One of them, Hugh First, a little before the birth of Bernard, had determined to abdicate his ducal authority, transferring it to his brother, and retiring to the monastery of Clugni; on occasion of which came a letter of sharp reproof to the abbot from Gregory Seventh, denouncing him for consenting to take their protector from such multitudes of the poor, and summoning against him their sighs and tears, with an apostolic precept.[1] The brother who succeeded Hugh became one of the founders of the abbey of Citeaux, and died at Tarsus while on a journey to Palestine. One of his descendants took active part in the subsequent crusade; he built the famous Sainte Chapelle at Dijon, in fulfilment, it is said, of a vow made by him when smitten by tempest; he at last died at Tyre, in A.D. 1102.

By rivers and roads communication was easy with all parts of France; Paris was less than two hundred miles away; while with Dauphiné, Provence, the Lyon-

[1] Tulisti vel recepisti ducem in Cluniacensem quietem, et fecisti ut centum millia Christianorum careant custode. Quod si nostra exhortatio apud te parum valuit, et apostolicæ sedis præceptum in te obedientiam non invenit, cur gemitus pauperum, lacrymæ viduarum, devastatio ecclesiarum, clamor orphanorum, dolor et murmur sacerdotum et monachorum te non terruerunt, ut illud quod Apostolus dicit non postponeres, videlicet: *Charitas quæ sua sunt non quærit.* . . . Hæc ideo dicimus, quia, quod vix aliquis princeps bonus invenitur, dolemus. — *Opera*, lib. vi. ep. xvii.

nais, though the old governmental relations had terminated, there continued special acquaintance and correspondence. The Northern and the Southern dialects — the langue d'oïl and the langue d'oc, which two centuries later became thoroughly interfused in the common French language — were both understood and used in Burgundy, though the Southern idioms were specially familiar; and it had at the same time certain particular relations to Spain, inasmuch as the son of one of its dukes had married the daughter of Alfonso, emperor of Castile and Leon, and had received from him the countship of Portugal. The effect of this was to make the Burgundians habitually familiar, as otherwise they might not have been, with the land of the Cid, and to maintain among them a special degree of military excitement. Out of this relation grew events in which Bernard had afterward lively interest. Such was then the province into whose ruddy and *riant* life, as the eleventh century was drawing to its close, he was born.

His father, Tescelin, was a knight of experience and distinction, descended from the counts of Châtillon, accustomed from youth to military service, and still actively occupied in it. But both he and his wife belonged evidently to that class of persons, not few in number we may hope in the darkest times, of whom Luther speaks in his commentary on Paul's letter to the Galatians: "Some there were," he says, "whom God called by the text of the Gospels, and by baptism. These walked in simplicity and humbleness of heart, thinking the monks and friars, and such only as were anointed of the bishops, to be religious and holy, and themselves to be profane and secular, not worthy to be compared unto these. Wherefore, finding in them-

selves no good works to set against the wrath and judgment of God, they did fly to the death and passion of Christ, and were saved in this simplicity."[1] Of Tescelin it is related that while noble in descent and rich in possessions, he was affable in manner, a great lover of the poor, an assiduous cultivator of piety, with an extraordinary zeal for justice, so that he was wont to wonder that it should seem hard for any to observe justice toward others, especially that they should be detained from it by either fear or love of gain. He was the bravest of soldiers, yet shrank from the praises which others sought. He never took up arms except for the defence of his own territory, or at the call of his feudal lord the Duke of Burgundy, with whom he was on intimate terms; and with him he never went into battle without gaining the victory.[2] It is particularly related of him by another of the early biographers of Bernard that having become engaged in controversy with a man inferior to himself in birth and in property, when the question was to be decided according to custom by a combat of arms, and the day had been fixed, Tescelin, mindful of the Golden Rule, though the more skilful of the two in the use of weapons, and expecting the victory which would bring him large advantage,

[1] Comm. on chap. ii. vs. 16.

[2] Erat autem vir iste genere nobilis, possessionibus dives, suavis moribus, amator pauperum maximus, summus pietatis cultor, et incredibilem habens justitiæ zelum. Denique et mirari solebat, quod multis onerosum esse videret servare justitiam; et maxime (adversus quos amplius movebatur) quod aut timore, aut cupiditate desererent justitiam Dei. Erat quidem miles fortissimus, sed non minori studio laudes ipse fugiebat, quam cæteri captare videantur. Nunquam armis usus est, nisi aut pro defensione terræ propriæ, aut cum domino suo, duce scilicet Burgundiæ, cui plurimum familiaris et intimus erat; nec aliquando fuit cum eo in bello, quin victoria ei proveniret. — *Opera S. Bern.*, vol. sec., Vita, iii. col. 2475. Paris ed., 1839.

made peace with his adversary, and relinquished all that had been in dispute. Remembering the sharp contrast between this action and the temper of the age, one does not wonder that the monkish chronicler was moved to add, "O magna pietas, magna viri clementia!"[1] Certainly a profound religious sensibility appears in Tescelin, in energetic activity, and his whole spirit is shown in harmony with that of the son whose wider renown has caused his name to be remembered.

But the mother of Bernard, Aletta, or Alèthe,[2] was the parent to whom he undoubtedly was most indebted for the fine and rare properties of his spirit, and whose intense devotional temper he most distinctly reproduced.

We greatly err if we conceive of that time, rude as it was, as one in which womanhood attracted no reverence, and Christian women had no places of honor. The instance of Matilda, "the Great Countess" as she was called, should alone be sufficient to dispel this impression. That intimate friend and high-hearted champion of Gregory Seventh, who listened to her counsel when he would to no other, herself a fervent devotee of the Church, yet administering great affairs of state with wisdom, foresight, and a singular courage, familiar with whatever of knowledge and art belonged to her century, and speaking French, German, Provençal, as if either had been her native tongue, yet more remarkable than for all things else for her dauntless consecration to what to her was the righteous cause, — it is no wonder that knight and soldier, as well as prelate, priest, and monk, revered and obeyed

[1] Opera S. Bern., vol. sec., Vita, iv. col. 2493.

[2] Her name is also given as Aalays [Alice], or as Elizabeth, in the early Lives. See Vita, iv. col. 2491 ; iii. col. 2475.

her; that Cimabue, two centuries later, sought to fix in color for after time the face and figure of which only fading traditions remained; that Dante represented her as a celestial messenger preceding the chariot on which the glorified Beatrice was enthroned.[1] She really interprets to us the time on which her name reflects a splendor.

Nor may we forget the devout mother by whom Matilda had been trained, on whose sarcophagus at Pisa it was inscribed by her order: "Though a sinner, I am the Lady called Beatrice. In this tomb I lie, who was a Countess. Whosoever thou art, say three pater nosters for my soul."[2] Nor should Agnes, mother of Henry Fourth, be forgotten, who laid aside all courtly splendors for the higher welfare sought for the soul; who styled herself, in writing to an abbot for spiritual counsel, "Agnes, empress and sinner," but who was addressed by another as "Blessed Lady, pious mother of the poor, and noble ornament of widowhood."[3] Nor, certainly, should Ida of Bouillon fail to be remembered, "full of piety, and versed in literature," as she was described at the time, and of whose son Godfrey the eulogy was that at the sight of him, humble, gentle, just, chaste, marshalling armies, and ever first to strike the foe, even a rival must say, "For zeal in

[1] Purgatorio, xxviii.–xxx.

[2] Villemain, Hist. de Grég. VII., tom. ii. p. 113.

A sarcophagus, admirably wrought, is now in the Campo Santo at Pisa, having been removed from the Duomo, and still bearing the first part of the inscription which Villemain cites: —

"Quamvis peccatrix, sum Domna vocata Beatrix.
In tumulo missa jaceo quæ Comitissa.
A. D. MLXXVI."

[3] The letters are copied in Maitland's "Dark Ages," pp. 314–321. London ed., 1844.

war, behold his father; for serving God, behold his mother!" It was her spirit which reappeared in him when, after the capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, he utterly refused to be crowned with gold where his Master had borne the crown of thorns.[1] Nor may we forget Matilda, of England, another of these remarkable women, nobly born, highly placed, and Christian-hearted, of whom Ordericus says that "beauty of person, high birth, a cultivated mind, an exalted virtue, combined to grace this illustrious queen; and what is still more worthy of immortal praise," he adds, "she was firm in the faith, and devoted to the service of Christ, with fervent zeal daily distributing her charities."[2]

That women like these only represented multitudes of others, of less titular distinction but of the same spirit, and in their respective spheres of a similarly commanding spiritual influence, can hardly need to be argued. They were devoted to the Church, which to their minds expressed and embodied Christianity. It was that Church, with the Gospel which it however imperfectly set forth in the world, which had given to them protection and training, and had been the mother of whatever was best in them. It was that which restrained, so far as they were restrained, the fierce elements of cruel force incessantly active and destructive around them. The stress of the times thus conspired with their highest aspirations to make them devotees. The clergy might be vicious, the prelates arrogant, indolent, unbelieving, but a vivid faith was maintained by the women; and the whole force of their inspiring

[1] Hæc filios in omni disciplina et timore Dei educavit, et quæ digna sunt principatu agere docuit, atque ad sanctos et bonos mores informavit. — *Acta Sanct.*, April. dec. ter. p. 146.

[2] Eccl. Hist., lib. iv. cap. v.; an. 1068.

moral energy was exerted without stint for the furtherance of institutions to which they felt themselves deeply indebted. Oftentimes they sought convent-life for themselves. If unable to do this, their sons and daughters were sacredly devoted to the service of the Church, with an intensity of consecration which, as in the instance of Bernard, shot its influence forward over the whole subsequent life of those to whom they had given birth.

Of those who entered the special separate life of religion, no one is more distinguished in the history of the time than is Hildegarde, the abbess of a convent on the Rupertsberg, near Bingen, to whom Bernard at the height of his fame called the particular attention of the Pope, and to whom Neander, both in his general History and in his life of Bernard, devotes not a few of his ample yet crowded pages.[1] So many of the moral traits of the time are illustrated in her history, she brings before us so much of what was fine and prophetic in its brightening atmosphere, that perhaps you will pardon me if I briefly pause upon it. Of honorable if not of noble parentage, devoted to the cloister from her infancy and entering it at the age of eight years, she had been wont from childhood to see strange radiances, and to feel herself approached by spiritual powers. She kept the extraordinary experiences to herself, though her health suffered severely beneath the pro-

[1] Hist. of Christ. Religion and Church, vol. iv. pp. 17–20; Der heilige Bernhard und sein Zeitalter, ss. 356–374.

A yet more complete and particular account of Hildegarde, of Bernard's relation to her, and of the honors paid her by popes, emperors, princes, archbishops, and other high officials, is also given by Théodore Ratisbonne in his "Histoire de St. Bernard," tom. ii. pp. 253–281, Paris ed., 1875; and he supplies, in a form accessible to all, important extracts from her letters and other writings.

longed strain of silence. At last relief came, in her forty-third year, through a command to speak, which seemed to her to fall from heaven, and to be verified as Divine by a marvellous attendant lustre.[1] Thenceforward she spoke to princes, prelates, or peoples, with the freedom, the boldness, and almost the authority of one inspired. The mystical spirit which always appeared in her, setting her signally apart from others, was illustrated not only in the sphere of religion, but almost equally in her reverence for music, which she declared to have its origin in the divine voice of the Spirit of God, of which voice terrestrial melodies were but echoes. So she insisted that the art should be cultivated in a devout frame of mind, and called those "sages" who served well on organs. At the same time she was as shrewd in practical counsel as if the sphere of transcendent thought had been wholly beyond her. "I often observe," she wrote to an abbess, who had sought her counsel, "that when a man mortifies his body by excess of abstinence, a certain disgust rises in him, by reason of which disgust vicious indulgences are more apt to entangle him than if he had allowed himself proper nourishment."[2] To another abbess she wrote: "Consider and hold fast the Scriptures, which are set and

[1] Ecce quadragesimo tertio temporalis cursus mei anno, cum cœlesti visione magno timore tremula intentione inhærerem, vidi maximum splendorem, in quo facta est vox de cœlo ad me dicens . . . dic et scribe quæ vides et audis. . . . Et iterum audivi vocem de cœlo mihi dicentem : Dic ergo mirabilia hæc, et scribe ea hoc modo edocta, et dic. . . . Et dixi et scripsi hæc, non secundum adinventionem cordis mei aut ullius hominis, sed ut ea in cœlestibus vidi, audivi et percepi per secreta mysteria Dei. — *S. Hild. Scivias, Præfatio* [Migne], coll. 383–386.

[2] Sæpe video quando homo per nimietatem abstinentiæ corpus suum affligit, quod tædium in illo surgit, et tædio vitia se implicant, plus quam si illud juste pasceret. — *S. Hild. Epist.* cv. col. 327.

nourished in the root of the Holy Spirit, and are written in the Divine wisdom. The Scripture is a mirror, in which we see God. We ought never to tempt Him [by curious questions], but reverently to adore Him. Man often, as by an impulse from God himself, desires to know what it is not permitted him to know, and so departs from divine obedience; at which the devil greatly rejoices, seeing him failing on one side or another. Often the adversary shoots such arrows into man's heart, that through them he may misconceive God. Happy the man who neither desires such, nor accepts them, but who in the very agony of death *lives* in the things of God. . . . The desire to do good things makes the spirit beautiful as a flowering tree. An earnest zeal in the doing of them is far better, like a tree on which growing fruit appears."[1]

Neander seems to accept this remarkable woman, as Bernard did at the time, as gifted with a true prophetic foresight.[2] Whether this were true or not, she

[1] Epist. cxii. coll. 442–443.

[2] A certain faculty of prophecy seems implanted in the spirit of humanity; undefined presentiments hasten to anticipate the mighty future. . . . The spirit of the kingdom of God begets, therefore, in those who are filled with it, a prophetic consciousness, — presentiments in regard to the grand whole of the evolution, which are different from the prediction of individual events not necessarily connected with that whole. — NEANDER, *Hist. of Christ.*, vol. iv. p. 216.

Bernard wrote to her: "I congratulate you on the grace of God toward you, and admonish you to receive it as grace, and that you study to respond to it with humble and devout affection. But where there is the inward wisdom, and the unction which teacheth of all things, how is it possible for one either to teach or to exhort? For you are declared to search out heavenly secrets, and to discover things above human knowledge, by the illumination of the Holy Spirit. Wherefore I the more entreat and pray that you will have the remembrance of me before God, and equally of those who are associated with me in spiritual fellowship." — *Opera*, vol. prim. epis. ccclxvi. col. 668.

had the clearest discernment of the evils around her, in Church and State, and the most absolute fearlessness in exposing and denouncing them. She was certainly a prophet in interpreting God's will, and in insisting on a spiritual religion. She wrote a letter of extraordinary power and severity to the dean and clergy of Cologne, warning them that the avenging power of God would bow their high heads, because they feared neither God nor man, and did not hate unrighteousness; because they yielded to the desires of the flesh, and did not labor for the glory of God and the salvation of human souls.[1] She wrote with equal severity to the clergy of Mayence, who had trespassed, as she conceived, on the rights of her convent, and against whom she exalted the majesty of God.[2] None were so high in rank or so established in power as to be beyond the reach of her vehement remonstrance or her stinging reproof, if their lives did not illustrate the evangelical spirit. The Pope himself, Eugenius Third, after the important council of Trèves where her writings had been examined, and where Bernard had expressed his

[1] Some sentences from the letter may be quoted: "Sed hoc propter pertinaciam propriæ voluntatis vestræ non facitis. Vos enim nox spirans tenebras estis, et quasi populus non laborans, nec propter tædium in luce ambulans; sed velut nudus coluber in caverna se abscondit, sic vos fœditatem in vilitate pecorum intratis. . . . Sed hoc non estis, sed veloces estis ad lasciviam puerilis ætatis, illorum scilicet, qui de salute sua loqui nesciunt. . . . Nam potestas Dei, colla vestra iniquitate erecta deprimet, et ad nihilum deducet quæ velut in sufflatu venti inflata sunt, cum Deum non cognoscitis, nec hominem timetis, nec iniquitatem contemnitis, ut eam in vobis finiri desideretis. Deum non videtis, nec videre desideratis. Sed opera vestra inspicitis, et ea in vobismetipsis judicatis, scilicet faciendo et relinquendo secundum placitum vestrum quæ vultis," et seq. The letter is xlviii. [Migne], coll. 244–253.

[2] Et audivi vocem sic dicentem: Quis creavit cœlum? Deus. Quis aperit fidelibus suis cœlum? Deus. Quis ejus similis? Nullus. — *Opera*, epist. xlviii. col. 221.

judgment of her character and work, wrote to her with his own hand that he was amazed beyond expression at the new wonders which were being wrought of God, who had so filled her with his Spirit that she could see and reveal the things unseen.[1] Discussions of theologians were submitted to her. The emperor Frederick Barbarossa, one of the boldest of the monarchs of the time, and least inclined to religious obedience, paid her honor and sought her advice;[2] and it certainly illustrates the better forces which had come to activity in the time when she lived, that this frail woman, without wealth, high station, or the power of arms, by her spiritual energy, exhibited through a life unusually prolonged,[3] in wise counsel and a consecrated spirit, conquered the respect and allured the obedience, not of the retired and studious alone, but of the wild soldier, the martial baron, the imperious prince, who sought the word of God through her lips. Her remarkable story, of itself, gives moral lustre to the period.[4]

[1] Miramur, O Filia, et supra id quod credi potest, miramur, quia Deus jam nostris temporibus nova miracula ostendit, cum te spiritu suo ita perfudit quod diceris multa secreta videre, intelligere et proferre. Hoc a veridicis personis ita esse percepimus, qui se fatentur te et vidisse et audisse. Sed quid nos ad hæc dicere valemus, qui clavem scientiæ habentes, ita quod claudere et aperire possimus, et hoc prudenter facere per stultitiam negligimus? Congratulamur igitur gratiæ Dei, congratulamur et dilectioni tuæ, hoc admonentes, ut scias quod Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam. Gratiam autem hanc quæ in te est conserva et custodi, ita ut ea quæ in spiritu proferenda senseris, prudenter proferas. — *Opera S. Hild.*, epist. prima, col. 145.

[2] Epist. xxvii. coll. 186–187.

[3] Born A.D. 1098, died A.D. 1197. ("Der heilige Bernhard," s. 359.) Ratisbonne says, however, that she died September 17, A.D. 1179 ("Hist. de St. Bernard," tom. ii. p. 281); and this is the date given in the "Acta Sanctorum," apparently after careful examination. She was then in her eighty-second year.

[4] Neander's estimate of her influence is just and emphatic: —

Immer ist es schön, zu sehen, dass die Mächtigsten der Erde, die keine

Among those who did not enter the cloister, but who gave their life to domestic care in noble castles, or often no doubt in lowlier homes, were such as Ermenberga, the mother of Anselm, of whom I have spoken; or such as the mother of Eberhard, afterward Archbishop of Salzburg, who occupied herself with almsgiving and prayer, and who, having caused a church to be erected on her estate, herself carried in part the stones for its walls, walking barefoot as she went.[1]

Such, we may be sure, was the venerated mother of Peter the Venerable, who was himself long and closely connected with Bernard. Of a distinguished family in Auvergne, she had eagerly wished to retire to a convent, but fidelity to her husband during his life had forbidden her to fulfil the desire. After his death, having arranged her affairs and paid a final visit to his grave, she proceeded to the abbey of Marcigni, to find there the rest and delight which, as she said, all riches, honors, and pleasures of the world could not afford. Her influence with her son had already directed him to the monastic life, which his gentleness,

Gewalt fürchteten, sich beugten vor einer Kraft, die sie für höher hielten als Alles, was durch Menschen verliehen werden kann, als alle Majestät der Erde und der sie umgebende Glanz, dass die mächtigsten Fürsten vor den Füssen einer unansehnlichen Nonne, nur desswegen, weil sie dieselbe für das Organ göttlicher Offenbarungen hielten, weil sie von ihr Worte vernahmen, die ihnen an's Herz drangen, den ganzen Prunk ihrer Majestät niederlegten, dass selbst Diejenigen, welche sich die Gewalt beilegten, zu binden und zu lösen für Himmel und Erde, sich demüthigten vor einer unmittelbar aus dem Reiche, zu dem sie nach des Zeitalters Meinung den Schlüssel hatten, erschallenden Stimme. — *Der heilige Bernhard*, s. 374.

[1] Ferrea virtus: cujus bene gesta commendare hoc uno sufficiat, quod ecclesiam in honore S. Mariæ perpetuæ virginis cum viro in curte propria statuens, dimidio ferme milliario nudipes ad eam propriis humeris lapides ferre solebat. . . . Trahebat ibi, cum pedissequis suis, mulierum utriusque conditionis non parvam turbam, saxa portantium. — *Acta Sanct.*, Jun. iv. die viges. secunda, p. 161.

wisdom, vigor, and piety made illustrious; and after her death he wrote of her to his brothers in the tenderest strains of grateful and admiring Christian affection.[1]

I have cited these examples, to which many might be added, that we may have the fact clearly before us that Christian women, in the midst of centuries so rude and dark, possessed and used great power for the Church; and that the influence of their words, as reinforced by the earnestness of their character and the holiness of their life, became often a mighty though a subtile force, not only for directing the course of their children, but for educating society. It is in the light of this general fact that we are to set the story of Aletta, the mother of Bernard, a woman most faithful, noble, and devout, worthy to be ranked with either whom I have named, and in the effect of her life surpassed by no one. Possibly, no doubt, things strange and fanciful may appear to us, in our critical days, in the narratives which remain as her record. But we must be wholly blind to the true and sovereign beauty of character in wife and mother if we do not clearly discern this in her.

Of noble birth, connected ancestrally with the ducal house of Burgundy, she early desired for herself the convent-life, but was married by her parents at the age of fifteen to Tescelin, the knight of Fontaines, to whom

[1] The long letter, covering still not a few pages, and originally many sheets, closes thus: "Et vos, quibus hanc epistolam scripsi, fratres mei, tantæ matris filii, erubescite degeneres videri; sed a qua sumpsistis vitæ hujus originem, ab ipsa in vos derivate cœlestis, cui vos a puero devovit, amorem. Quæ fuit mater corporum, sit rursum genitrix animorum, ne qui ei consimiles estis corporibus, dissimiles (quod absit) inveniamini moribus. Parturiat vos exemplo et precibus, donec formetur Christus in vobis, ut per eam illum habere mereamini Patrem, per quem ipsam meruistis habere et matrem." — *Opera Petri Ven.*, lib. ii. ep. xvii.

she bore seven children, — six sons and a daughter. For herself she followed in the castle a monastic rule of life,[1] and amid all the cares which came with her station, and with her assiduous attention to her children, she was wont to go personally from house to house among the poor, searching out the needy and infirm, preparing food for them, ministering to the sick, cleansing their poor cups and vessels with her own hands, and performing for them the humblest offices without aid of servants.[2] It is particularly related of her that having dedicated her children to God, and really borne them for Him, she was careful to nurse them herself, contrary to the custom of the time among those of her rank, believing that with the mother's milk something of the mother's spirit might be infused.[3] Bernard, especially, her third son, concerning whom she seemed to herself to have been prophetically taught in a dream that he would be a signal champion of the truth,[4] was

[1] In medio sæculi eremiticam seu monasticam vitam non parvo tempore visa est æmulari, in victus parcitate, in vilitate vestitus, delicias et pompas sæculi a se abdicando, ab actibus et curis sæcularibus, in quantum poterat, se subtrahendo, insistendo jejuniis, vigiliis, et orationibus; et quod minus assumptæ professionis habebat, elleemosynis et diversis operibus misericordiæ redimendo. — *Opera S. Bernard*, vol. sec., Vita, i. col. 2095.

[2] Consueverat . . . circuire domos, exquirere pauperes, infirmos, et egenos, eisque de suo proprio erogare quod necessarium erat. Claudorum etiam atque debilium maximam habebat curam: non servis, non aliis utens ministris ad hæc officia peragenda, sed per semetipsam hoc agens, ad eorum habitacula veniebat; . . . ollas eorum extergens, cibos porrigens, calices diluens, et alia cuncta faciens, quæ servis et ministris mos est serviliter operari. — *Opera S. Bernard*, vol. sec., Vita, iv. col. 2493.

[3] Deo namque, non sæculo generans, singulos mox ut partu ediderat, ipsa manibus propriis Domino offerebat. Propter quod etiam alienis uberibus nutriendos committere illustris femina refugiebat, quasi cum lacte materno materni quodammodo boni infundens eis naturam. — *Opera*, vol. sec., Vita, i. col. 2092.

[4] Opera, vol. sec. Vita, i. col. 2093.

thus dedicated to the service of Christ with all the energy of maternal devotion; and the influence of the fact conspicuously appears in his whole life.

Not many incidents are recorded of the devout and modest life of this elect lady, but those which attended her death were so remarkable that a particular and affectionate narrative of them was made by her nephew, which still remains to us. She had been long accustomed to invite the neighboring clergy to the castle on the festival of Saint Ambrosien, the patron saint of the church at Fontaines.[1] Before her death there came to her a strong presentiment that it was appointed to her to pass from the earth on that particular day; and of this she informed her husband and her household, without however interrupting or postponing the festal arrangements. On the evening before the feast she was in fact stricken with violent fever; and on the next day, having received the sacraments of the Eucharist and the Holy Unction, she called the assembled clergy after their supper to meet at her bedside, announced to them her imminent dissolution, and joined with them in the petitions of the Litany for the departing. When the touching and sublime invocation was reached, "By Thy cross and passion, O Lord, deliver her!" her voice failed in death, but with lifted hand, tracing for the last time the cross in the air, she rendered up her spirit in peace. Without fear or regret, in the tranquillity of a perfect faith, she had gone to meet the waiting angels; and it was with something of

[1] Saint Ambroisien était un évêque martyrisé en Arménie. Une légende raconte que ses reliques avaient été portées de Terre Sainte en Bourgogne par un chevalier de la famille de Saint Bernard. — RATISBONNE: *Hist. de St. Bernard*, tom. i. p. 71.

wondering awe that those around her saw her hand still raised in its last action.[1]

Her body was sought, after her death, by the abbot of the convent of St. Benignus at Dijon, as a most precious treasure for his house. It was carried thither with bended heads and flowing tears, was met on the way by the whole population bearing crosses and candles, and was laid with exceeding joy and veneration in its resting-place under the shadow of the great basilica. There it remained a century and a half, till the monks of Clairvaux claimed and received all that was left of the "holy body" of the blessed mother of their great abbot.[2]

It seems to me that in this brief and tender story, taken directly from ancient records, is answer enough to those who imagine that the beauty of feminine charity and piety was not then recognized, and that only the fierce collisions and catastrophes of politics and of arms engaged and impressed the minds of men.

If ever a mother's wish and prayer, and Christian counsel, determined the character and career of a son, those of the mother of Bernard determined his. After her death, which occurred while he was still a youth, her

[1] Adsunt clerici: quibus congregatis, in spiritu congratulans ancilla Christi, nuntiat dissolutionem sui corporis imminere. Illi autem Dominum pro ea suppliciter exorantes, litanian incœperunt: cum quibus ipsa, quousque ultimum exhalaret spiritum, devotissime psallebat. Cum vero chorus psallentium jam pervenisset ad illam litaniæ supplicationem, "Per passionem et crucem tuam libera eam, Domine," necdum cessans a supplicatione, in ipso mortis articulo, in manus Domini commendans spiritum suum, elevata manu signans se signaculo sanctæ crucis, in pace reddidit spiritum: procul dubio receptum ab Angelis. . . . In hunc modum sancta illa anima de templo sancti corporis egressa, manus, sicut erat erecta ad indicandum signum crucis, videntibus et admirantibus cunctis qui aderant, sic remansit. — *Opera S. Bern.*, Vita, iv. vol. sec. coll. 2494–95.

[2] *Opera S. Bernard*, vol. sec., Vita, iv. col. 2495.

image continued vividly before him. He remembered her words, and meditated affectionately on her plans for himself. More than once he thought or felt that she personally appeared to him; and it was in connection with an impression of this kind that his final devotion to the monastic life took immediate effect. While she still lived he had been sent to the cathedral school at Châtillon, and had there distinguished himself among his fellows, surpassing them in grace and genius as well as in proficiency in his studies. He had been remarked, even then, as one who loved to be by himself, shunning public prominence, not given to much talk, yet marvellously thoughtful, kind and obedient, faithful and modest, devoted to God, and careful to keep his boyhood pure.[1] Then, and afterward, his reverence for the chastity of his body was as delicate as that of the purest of women, while it had in it the strength of virile passion. It is strikingly illustrated in several incidents of which his biographers give the narrative.[2]

When he stood face to face with the world after the death of his mother, four different paths were open to him, either of which he might have pursued, doubtless with distinguished success. To one of his fine presence, graceful and attractive manners, combined as in him they were with great activity of mind, a fearlessness of spirit that never failed, and an extraordinary power of command over others, the court and the camp

[1] Puer autem et gratia plenus, et ingenio naturali pollens, . . . in litterarum quidem studio supra ætatem et præ cœtaneis suis proficiebat; . . . amans habitare secum, publicum fugitans, mire cogitativus, parentibus obediens et subditus; omnibus benignus et gratus, domi simplex et quietus, foris rarus, et ultra quam credi posset verecundus; nusquam multum loqui amans, Deo devotus, ut puram sibi pueritiam suam conservaret. — *Opera S. Bern.*, vol. sec., Vita, i. col. 2093.

[2] Vol. sec., Vita, i. coll. 2096-97, ii. col. 2408.

offered every opportunity, promising wealth, rank, pleasure, in the utmost abundance. If he were not drawn toward either of these, the schools of the time, fast rising in importance, and destined ere long to grow to universities, opened a large and inviting field to his eager genius, wherein could be exercised and enjoyed to the full his skill in dialectics, his power of studious contemplation, with his surpassing gift of eloquent speech. He felt this attraction himself; his brothers and friends strongly presented it; and his ultimate decision was delayed in consequence.[1] Even if he chose a distinctly religious life, the Church, with all its offices and honors, its magnificent buildings, splendid privileges, vast emoluments, invited him to enter it and to take from it whatever he wished of princely position, revenue, fame. Others might have to strive for its offices; he could have them without an effort, almost without asking; and certainly a spirit essentially ambitious, though retaining a measure of Christian fervor, might have gladly embraced such an opportunity, and have thus united large influence for good with the leisure and distinction of an assured and brilliant position.

Bernard turned from everything else in the way of a career to the most severe and exacting monastic life, in a recent and poor convent, unknown to fame, amid desolate surroundings, its fields only partially redeemed as yet from the sullen wilderness by the axe and the plough; and he did it, plainly, under the impressions which the whole spirit and life of Aletta had left upon him. Modest and gentle as she had been, there had been an immense radiancy of character in her. Her intense devotion survived and conquered over the very

[1] Opera., vol. sec., Vita, i. col. 2098.

dust of death. The sacred memory of her was so present to her son that he seemed to see her standing before him, lamenting and reproving his hesitation to choose the noblest things; and when, as he was reasoning with his younger brother Andrew, to persuade him to the consecration to which he had himself passionately come, Andrew suddenly exclaimed, under the impulse of his fervent words, "I see my Mother!" Bernard confessed the same vivid vision.[1] No one can carefully study the man without feeling that the impassioned moral life of Aletta was reproduced in him with singular completeness, though in union of course with the more masculine and masterful spirit derived from his father. In the combination of the strong sense of justice, the effective public talent, the commanding skill, patience, and energy, by which Tescelin had been marked, with the devout sensibility, the spiritual intensity, and the fervent intuition of duty and of truth, which Aletta had imparted, rests the secret of the genius, the character, and the work for which he is memorable.

One hardly can avoid feeling that even in his face, his figure, his bearing, the mother was repeated more distinctly than the father. The elegance of his person, the beauty of his face, the charming grace of his man-

[1] Sed matris sanctæ memoria importune animo ejus instabat, ita ut sæpius sibi occurrentem videre videretur, conquerentem et improperantem, quia non ad hujusmodi nugacitatem tam tenere educaverat, non in hac spe erudierat eum. . . . Porro Andreas, Bernardo etiam ipse junior, et novus eo tempore miles, verbum fratris difficilius admittebat, donec subito exclamavit, "Video matrem meam!" Visibiliter siquidem ei apparuit, serena facie subridens, et congratulans proposito filiorum. Nec solus vidit Andreas tantorum matrem filiorum lætantem, sed confessus est et Bernardus eamdem similiter se vidisse. — *Opera*, vol. sec., Vita, i. coll. 2098-99.

ner, were recognized in his youth.[1] In his later years he is described as of about the middle height, but appearing taller; very thin, with light golden hair, a reddish beard which in age became mingled with white, cheeks on which a subtle blush easily played, with eyes pure and dove-like, with a singular brightness of countenance, and with his whole person suffused, as through the grace of his spirit, with a peculiar and winning charm.[2] Those who saw his physical frailty, and yet knew of his labors, felt as if in him a lamb had been harnessed to pull a plough;[3] yet he shared in all the work of the monastery, while taking upon himself immense labors from without; and when he spoke under excitement it was noticed that all trace of bodily feebleness disappeared, and that he was as one transfigured. It seems clear enough that much of the mother appeared again in even the bodily presence of the son, for whom she had so earnestly prayed, and to whose life she had so largely given impulse and control.

But he must have inherited far more from Aletta than outward grace and beauty of person, — even the ethereal properties of spirit which were singularly combined in him with intellectual force and with dauntless resolution. It is by these that he seems to me most distinctly set apart from the other principal men of his time, as it was by these in large measure, under God's assistance, that he became for an entire generation the most commanding man in Europe.

One does not know, for example, in the absence of particular information, how Tescelin may have been

[1] Eleganti corpore, grata facie præeminens, suavissimis ornatus moribus. — Vol. sec., Vita, i. col. 2096.

[2] Opera, vol. sec., Vita, ii. col. 2417.

[3] Ac si agnus ad aratrum alligatus arare cogeretur. — Vita, ii. col. 2426.

affected by the beauty of nature, as its lovely forms and colors presented themselves around his castle. But from what we know of his judicial and martial temper, and of his customary habit of life, it seems natural to infer that that quiet and deep enjoyment in the visible works of God which Bernard felt, except when it was transiently expelled by some critical purpose or superior passion, must have come from his mother. Everything shows her exquisite sensibility, her delicate, refined, responsive spirit, searching after God wherever she might find Him; and as she must often have gazed on the ranges of hills — the Côte d'Or, or "Golden Slope" — which rose on the west before the castle, probably already terraced with vineyards, rising to a table-land shadowed by trees and luxuriant with grains and grasses, and on the rich landscape which lay between, it is at least not improbable that an influence from the scene entered into her life; that something of peace, uplift, delight, possibly even of celestial expectation, came with it to her soul; that to her illumined eyes the goodness of God was evident through it, as through a transient diaphanous veil. If this were so, we can trace to its origin the feeling which her son fervently expressed, many years after, when he said that whatever he had learned of the Scriptures, and of their spiritual meaning, had chiefly come to him while he was meditating and praying in the woods or the fields, with no other teachers than beech-trees and oaks.[1] In the same sense he wrote to Heinrich of Mur-

[1] Nam usque hodie quidquid in Scripturis valet, quidquid in eis spiritualiter sentit, maxime in silvis et in agris meditando et orando se confitetur accepisse; et in hoc nullos aliquando se magistros habuisse, nisi quercus et fagos, joco illo suo gratioso inter amicos dicere solet. — *Opera*, vol. sec., Vita, i. col. 2109.

dach, a celebrated teacher of scholastic philosophy, afterward Archbishop of York: "Trust one who has learned by experience! Thou wilt find something larger in the woods than in books! (The trees and rocks shall teach thee what thou never canst learn from human masters.) Dost thou think it not possible to suck honey from stones, and oil from the flinty rock? But do not the mountains drop sweetness, and the hills flow with milk and honey, and the valleys stand thick with corn?"[1] His supreme lessons were always from the Scriptures, which he studied, in the form in which he possessed them, with an assiduous zeal which we may well emulate; but he found great lessons and inspiring suggestions in the lovely and lofty works of God, and kept for these an open sense. It is something quite remarkable, certainly, that while he was the busiest man of his time, and while society and life incessantly challenged his immediate attention, not with picturesque pageants, but with great religious and secular movements on which he was prompt to impress his force, he kept always his relish for the country, and his early familiarity with

> — "meadow, grove, and stream,
> The earth, and every common sight."

Cities oppressed, while the silent and peaceful scenes of nature revived his spirit. I cannot but think that the memory and the influence of his mother, with a touch of her transmitted temper, had contributed to apparel for him whatever was grand or charming in the earth with something of celestial light.

[1] Experto crede: aliquid amplius invenies in silvis quam in libris. Ligna et lapides docebunt te, quod a magistris audire non possis. An non putas posse te sugere mel de petra, oleumque de saxo durissimo? An non montes stillant dulcedinem, et colles fluunt lac et mel, et valles abundant frumento? — *Opera*, vol. prim., epis. cvi. col. 288.

But other traits, more essential than this, and more deeply characteristic, exhibit this distinct maternal inheritance. We cannot be mistaken in finding it in the tenderness and fervor of his affectionate nature. How intense this was in him, and how free and intense in familiar expression, no student of his life can need to be reminded. It was shown, for example, when his young relative, Robert, had left Clairvaux, to enter the wealthier monastery of Clugni, allured by its less exacting spirit and more tolerant indulgence. The heart of Bernard was smitten by the desertion more than it could have been by physical disaster, while it was troubled with anxious apprehension for the spiritual safety of a disciple so wanting in austerity of purpose, and yet so dear. So he wrote him an epistle as passionate as a love-letter, though almost as extended as a treatise. "I am no longer able," he said, "to veil my grief, to suppress my anxiety, to dissemble my sorrow. Therefore, contrary to the order of justice, I who have been wounded am constrained to recall him who hath wounded me; I, the despised, must seek after him who hath despised me; after suffering injury, I must offer satisfaction to him from whom the injury has come; I must, in a word, entreat him who ought rather to entreat me. But grief does not deliberate, it knows no shame, it does not consult reason, it does not fear any lowering of dignity, does not conform itself to rule, does not submit itself to sound judgment; it ignores method and rule; the mind is wholly and only occupied with this: to seek to be rid of what it pains it to have, or to gain what it grieves it to want. . . . I am wretched because I miss thee, because I do not see thee, because I live without thee, for whom to die would be to me life, to live without whom is to die! Only come back, and all

will be peace. Return, and I shall be at rest. Return, I say: return! and I shall joyfully sing, 'He that was dead is alive again; he was lost, and is found.' No doubt it may have been by my fault that you departed. I must have appeared severe to so delicate a youth, and in my own hardness have treated thy tenderness too harshly. . . . What I say, my son, I do not say to confound thee, but to admonish my most dear boy; for though thou mayest have many teachers in Christ, thou hast not many fathers. If thou wilt permit me to say so, I myself have brought thee forth into the life of religion, by instruction and example. How can it please thee that another should glory in thee who has in no way labored for thee?" [1] The whole letter from which these few sentences are extracted is tumultuous with emotion. It was reported among the monks that being dictated to a scribe, like many of Bernard's, it was written on parchment in the open air, and that when a shower fell upon everything around, the fervor of love on these ardent pages kept them dry; wherefore in the collection of his letters it was placed first.[2] The miracle we may doubt. The fervor of feeling is before us; and it is pleasant to know that, though its immediate effect was not apparent, he to whom it was addressed returned later to Clairvaux, and afterward lived there, or was himself the head of a monastery in the diocese of Besançon, many years.[3]

Another, and in some respects a still more remarkable, example of Bernard's extreme tenderness of feeling is presented in the sermon which he preached after the death of his brother Gerard, who died in the con-

[1] Vol. prim., epist. i., ad Robertum, coll. 101–111.

[2] Opera, vol. sec., Vita, i. col. 2128.

[3] Opera, vol. sec., Vita, iv. col. 2493; Ratisbonne, tom. i. p. 147.

vent at Clairvaux when Bernard was forty-seven years old. At first it was noticed that the abbot performed his duties as usual, with accustomed regularity, and in a seemingly stoical tranquillity. But when he began to preach, as his wont was at the time, in exposition of the Canticles, his special text for the day being, "As the tents of Kedar, as the curtains of Solomon," after a few introductory sentences his exposition was suspended by an almost volcanic outburst of passionate affection and irresistible grief. Some extracts from the sermon will sufficiently present this: —

"But my grief commands an end, and the calamity which I suffer! How long shall I dissemble, and hide the fire within, which scorches my sad heart, consumes my vitals! Closely shut up, it secretly spreads, and rages with the greater fierceness. What have I to do with this canticle, who am myself in bitterness of soul? The vehemence of grief interrupts my purpose, and the indignation of the Lord drinks up my spirit. He has been taken from me through whose presence my studies of God were wont to be free, and with him my very heart has forsaken me. But hitherto I have put constraint upon my soul, and have dissembled until now, lest feeling should seem to conquer faith. While others were weeping, I, as you must have observed, followed with dry eyes the unseen corpse; with dry eyes I stood at the tomb, while the funeral services were being performed. Clad in priestly robes, I completed with my own lips the customary prayers With my own hands I cast the earth, according to the custom, upon the dead body of my beloved, soon itself to become but earth. Those who saw me wept, and marvelled that I did not also weep; since all commiserated, not him certainly, but me who had lost him. For

whose heart, though of very iron, would not be moved at seeing me outliving Gerard? There was indeed a loss common to us all, but in comparison with my individual bereavement it was not considered. But with whatever forces of faith I could command, I resisted my feeling, striving against myself, not to be vainly moved by this allotment of nature, this payment of the debt due from all men, this customary incident of our mortal condition, by the command of Him who is powerful, the judgment of Him who is just, the stroke of Him who is terrible, by the will of the Lord. In this way I then and afterward constrained myself to refrain from much weeping, however heavily troubled and full of sorrow. . . . But who else was so peculiarly necessary to me? By whom was I equally beloved? He was my brother by blood, still more my brother in the life of religion. I was infirm in body, and he sustained me; I was weak in spirit, and he comforted me; I was sluggish and negligent, and he spurred me on; careless and forgetful, and he admonished me. Oh, wherefore hast thou been torn from me? Why art thou thus snatched from my arms? — thou man of one mind with myself, thou man after mine own heart! We loved each other in life; why by Death are we divided? Oh, most bitter separation, which nothing but Death could have wrought! For whom would Gerard living have left me, while I continued in life? It is wholly the work of Death, this horrible divorce! Who would not have spared the sweet ties of our mutual affection, except only Death, the enemy of all sweetness! . . . Why, I ask, have we loved, or have we lost? Hard condition! But mine, not his, is the pitiable lot. For thou, dear Brother, if thou hast left those dear to thee here, hast greeted those dearer still! But what

consolation remains for me in my misery, after that thou my consoler hast gone? . . . Who will grant it to me that I may quickly follow thee in death? For I would not die in thy place, nor defraud thee of thy glory. But from this time on to survive thee is labor and grief. I shall live, while I live, in bitterness of soul; I shall live in sorrow; and this must be my consolation, that by my sorrow I shall also be stricken prostrate. . . . Flow out, flow out, ye eager tears! Flow out, since he who would have hindered your passage himself hath passed! Let the torrents of my suffering head be opened, and the fountains of waters burst forth, if perhaps they may wash away the soils of sin by which I have deserved the fierce anger of God! . . . But this my weeping is not a sign of unbelief, it is only an indication of our human condition; nor because I moan when smitten do I accuse Him who smites. Though my words are full of grief, no murmuring is in them. The good and righteous God hath done everything well. I will sing to thee, O Lord, of mercy and judgment! The mercy shall sing to Thee, which Thou showedst to Thy servant Gerard; the judgment shall also sing, which we ourselves bear. As gracious in the one as Thou art just in the other, Thou shalt be praised! . . . But tears again put an end to my words. Do Thou, O Lord, impose the measure and the end of the tears?"[1]

I cannot but think that even such fragmentary extracts from prolonged letters and discourses must give us glimpses of the heart of Bernard, of the infinite deeps of his tender affection, the inexpressible fulness of his passionate pathos; and I am as sure as of anything not apparent to the senses, or not included in personal con-

[1] Opera, vol. prim., coll. 2816–2827.

sciousness, that this had come to him as a vital inheritance, not from a long series of feudal lords and fighting barons, but from the breast of the tender, devout, heroic mother, who years before had been carried to her grave. To her he owed it, under God, that while strong with the strongest, he was impassioned and fond as the most ardent woman; and it was her spirit in him which sighed and sorrowed, or rose to summits of Christian triumph.

The same fine quality of spirit, feminine, not effeminate, gentle, but surpassingly heroic, appears in all his character and life. His early career showed it, with his passionate fight against the allurements of ambition or of lust. The record of his conversion sets it vividly before us. He was riding toward the camp of the Duke of Burgundy, to join his brothers who were already there besieging a castle, when the image of his mother, disappointed and reproving, took possession of his soul. He retired to a church by the roadside to pray; and there, with streaming tears, lifting up his hands toward heaven, he poured out his heart like water in the presence of God. From that hour his course was determined, and his purpose unchangeable, to lead a wholly religious life.[1] The charms of study could not detain him; the prospect of rank and riches in the Church never for a moment entangled his will; there was no attraction in society or in the camp to allure him from his purpose of a supremely consecrated life. With instantaneous eagerness, after reaching his brothers,

[1] Inventaque in itinere medio ecclesia quadam, divertit, et ingressus oravit cum multo imbre lacrymarum, expandens manus in cœlum, et effundens sicut aquam cor suum ante conspectum Domini Dei sui. Ea igitur die firmatum est propositum cordis ejus. — *Opera*, vol. sec., Vita, i. col. 2098.

he sought to lead them to join him, and with great delight found himself in this strangely successful. One by one, yielding to his impetuous earnestness, they formed with him a harmonious company. Gerard, the second son, whose death afterward, as we have seen, moved him to the most passionate grief, was at the time a daring young soldier, wise in counsel, fearless in action, in the highest repute, and he proved the hardest to be gained; but even his resistance gave way ere long. The uncle, also, the Lord of Touillon, followed the lead of the impassioned Bernard; and the youngest of the household group, Nivard, who was still a child playing with his companions at home in the castle-area, was not long behind the others.[1] Entering soon after into a church with those thus spiritually associated with him, Bernard heard the text read: "Faithful is God, because He who hath begun a good work in you Himself will perfect it, unto the day of Jesus Christ," and it came to him as if it had fallen directly from the skies.[2] The Spirit of God seemed immediately addressing him, through the words written centuries before by the aged apostle, from the Roman Prætorium.

Yet there was nothing transient or spasmodic in the vividness of conviction or the ardor of feeling in this

[1] The story of the boy, Nivard, is too touching in itself, and too significant of the religious temper of the household, not to be repeated: —

Videns autem Guido primogenitus fratrum suorum Nivardum fratrem suum minimum, puerum cum pueris aliis in platea: "Eia," inquit, "frater Nivarde, ad te solum respicit omnis terra possessionis nostræ." Ad quod puer, non pueriliter motus: "Vobis ergo," inquit, "cœlum, et mihi terra? Non ex æquo divisio hæc facta est." Quo dicto abeuntibus illis, tunc quidem domi cum patre remansit, sed modico post evoluto tempore fratres secutus, nec a patre, nec a propinquis seu amicis potuit retineri. — *Opera*, vol. sec., Vita, i. col. 2104.

[2] Vita, i. col. 2101.

high-hearted and sensitive man. His enthusiasm was rooted in a deep and energetic moral life; it was therefore continuous, as well as intense, yielding to no obstacle, quailing before no vehement resistance, and counting no way too long or hard if it led to the end supremely before him. His courage was as perfect, his fortitude as unyielding, as his affection was tender, his emotion unrestrained. Whatever service or sacrifice seemed needful for the welfare of man, as he understood this, and for the greater glory of God, he was instantly ready to undertake; and he swept to the performance of whatever duty with such an unsparing and inspiring exertion of every energy as certified his followers of victory beforehand, and made it nearly as impossible to resist him as to stop a stone hurled from a catapult. A man more entirely sincere and unselfish in his spirit and aims seems hardly to have lived since the Apostles; and certainly one more free from limitations, through any fear of either the craft or the violence of men, seems not to me to have trodden the earth.

When the great Count of Champagne, in whose territory lay the convent of Clairvaux, had inflicted injustice on one of his vassals, Bernard, whose heart was touched by the suffering of the man and of his family, first applied to the count for a reparation which was not given, and then wrote to him with a sharpness which probably no other man in the province would have dared to use: "If I had asked of you gold, or silver, or anything of that sort, I trust you so far as to believe that without doubt I should have received them. But why do I say 'if I had asked'? since, not asking at all, I have received many gifts from your generosity. But this one thing which I *have* asked, not for my sake

but for God's sake, not for myself so much as for you, from yourself, — what reason exists why I am not worthy to receive it? . . . Do you not fear that word of the Scripture, 'with whatsoever measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again'? Do you not know that as easily as you have disinherited Humbert, — as easily? yea, incomparably more easily, — God can cast you out from the heavenly inheritance?" The count promised to restore his goods to the injured man, with his annulled rights; but, apparently through the opposition of some who had been profiting by the injustice, he failed to do this; whereupon Bernard wrote him again, regretting that he had to be troublesome to one whose attention was engaged with other matters, but saying: "If I fear to offend you by such repeated writing, how much more must I fear to offend God, to whom I owe the greater reverence, by failing to intercede on behalf of the suffering! I return my thanks for the favor which in this matter I have found in your eyes, that you have worthily accepted the defence of Humbert, and have most justly repelled the false accusation against him. But when you have decided that the inheritance of his wife and children shall be returned to them, I cannot enough wonder what it is which hinders so pious a sentence from being followed by suitable action. . . . Falsely, not truly, does he esteem you, fraudulent and not faithful is his counsel, who tries to obscure your noble fame for truth in the interest of his own avarice; who, through what malice I know not, to accomplish his purpose on the suffering poor, would empty of meaning the word which your own lips have spoken, a word well-pleasing to God, worthy of yourself, religiously just, and righteously religious. Do this, that the truth of your promise may be fully shown! Let the inheri-

tance of Humbert be restored to his wife and his children."[1] The powerful and irresponsible sovereign of the province, grandson of William the Conqueror, so rich in treasures and in troops that he faced without fear the king of France in equal battle, was no more to Bernard than a hind at the plough, when he was tardy in doing justice. Nor could his personal kindness blind, any more than the reach of his power could daunt, the clear-sighted and invincible spirit.

A yet more signal instance of his extraordinary fearlessness was given later, A.D. 1135. It is one of the most remarkable in biography, seeming almost to belong to the pages of romance. William, Duke of Aquitaine, whose dominion extended over Poitou, Limousin, the old Duchy of Gascony, covering the rich regions of southwestern France, with a still wider collateral sovereignty, had expelled certain bishops from their sees, and supplied their places with allies of his own, whom he afterward refused to remove. He was a man of vast stature and of almost gigantic strength, handsome and haughty, with a peculiarly violent, sensual, and intractable temper.[2] He was controlled by no

[1] Opera, vol. prim., epist. xxxvii., xxxviii., coll. 183–185.

[2] He was the father of Eleanor, the turbulent and imperious queen of Louis Seventh of France, and, after her separation from him, of Henry Second of England. Her son Richard, Cœur de Lion, inherited some of the qualities of the grandfather, of whom Ratisbonne gives a sufficient description: —

Élevé au milieu des pompes d'une cour splendide, il montra dès son bas âge un caractère indomptable et une funeste inclination au mal. . . . Homme brillant et prodigue, avec les forces d'un athlète et la taille d'un géant, bon chevalier d'armes, dit un vieux écrivain, il réunissait dans sa personne la beauté et la force, et se montrait à tout venant redoutable et querelleur. . . . C'était un Nemrod par sa passion de batailler; un dieu Bel par la quantité de viandes qu'il mangeait; un Hérode par ses crimes et ses incestes; et il se vantait, comme les gens de Sodome, de ses ignominies. — *Hist. de St. Bernard*, tom i. pp. 274–275.

legal authority in his wide domains, while his fierce and vicious animal life made him habitually disdainful toward religion. Already, four years before, Bernard had had an interview with him at the monastery of Chatelliers, but had failed to make any lasting impression, the duke returning with new eagerness to his execrable life, as if to stifle any remorse awakened by the fervent monk. Toward the Bishop of Poictiers, especially, he had shown an almost delirious fury. To this remorseless and terrible ruffian, savage in spirit, uncontrollable, and fenced about with all resources of human strength, now again came Bernard, as the associate of Geoffrey, the Bishop of Chartres, who had been appointed Papal legate. The stubborn and rebellious count readily enough consented to recognize Innocent as Pope, but he utterly refused to return to their sees the deposed bishops. They had offended him past forgiveness; and he had sworn a tremendous oath never to be reconciled to them. It was almost like reasoning with a tropical storm, or addressing arguments to the brutal fierceness of a wild beast. Bernard broke off the useless discussion, and proceeded to the church to celebrate mass. The count was compelled to remain at the door, as one beneath the censure of the Church. When the host had been consecrated, Bernard, with lifted arms and flashing face, and with eyes that burned with indignant menace, advanced directly to him with the paten in his hands, and said in tones of terrible authority: "We have besought you, and you have spurned us. This united multitude of the servants of God, meeting you elsewhere, has entreated you, and you have despised them. Behold, here comes to you the Virgin's Son, the Head and Lord of the Church which you persecute! Your Judge is here, at whose

name every knee shall bow, of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth! Your Judge is here, into whose hands your soul is to pass! Will you spurn Him, also? Will you despise Him, as you have despised His servants?" An awful silence fell on the assembly, and a dread expectation, as if miracles were impending. The furious and implacable count, pierced in spirit, fell to the ground with loosened and unsupporting limbs, and lay there, prone, speechless, insensible. Lifted by his knights, he could not stand or speak or see, and fell again, foaming at the mouth. Bernard bade him rise, and listen standing to the judgment of God. He presented the Bishop of Poictiers, who had been violently expelled from his see, and commanded the count to give him then and there the kiss of peace, and restore him to his throne.

The terrible soldier did not dare to answer, nor was he able; but he meekly obeyed, and with a kiss led the bishop to his place. He who had an army at his back, and who himself could have smitten Bernard into instant death with one swift blow of fist or mace, yielded to the onset of his overwhelming and incalculable will. Nor only for the time; he gave himself up, from that time on, to repentance for sin, and the service of religion. He is said to have died not long after, on a penitential visit to the shrine of Saint Jacques, at Compostella. His stubborn spirit had been broken and blasted in that awful encounter. The piercing eyes of the tender but intense and terrific Bernard had been to him almost literally prophetic of those which shall be seen hereafter as "flames of fire."[1]

[1] The full account of this remarkable scene is to be found in the Vita, i. lib. 2, vol. sec. coll. 2171–73. Some of the expressions are very striking: "Vir Dei, jam non se agens ut hominem, corpus Domini super patenam

It was not in contacts with such men only, rude and hard-nerved, that the Abbot of Clairvaux showed the intrepid and perfect daring which had come to him, no doubt, from both father and mother, but in which a flash of feminine intensity seems especially evident. It gave a certain decisiveness to his idiom, which even an indifferent reader must recognize. Thus in a great council at Rheims, where a question of the Divine nature was being discussed before the Pope and the cardinals, with the more learned of the clergy of France, Bernard asked that certain words of a powerful bishop whose doctrine he was controverting be written down, which accordingly was done. But Bernard himself, in continuing the discussion, having used a form of words displeasing to the cardinals, who favored his opponent, the irritated bishop demanded that his words also be written down. "Yea!" said Bernard, with the vehement firmness which no assault could disturb, "Let them be written with an iron pen, with a point of adamant, and be graven in the rock!" — repeating the words with new emphasis as he spoke.[1]

When Louis Seventh of France, enraged against the Count of Champagne, invaded the province, and laid it waste with fire and sword, and when Theobald, deserted by his vassals, could not resist him, Bernard wrote to the king in words of indignant and effective rebuke:

ponit et secum tollit, atque ignea facie, et flammeis oculis, non supplicans, sed minax foras egreditur, et verbis terribilibus aggreditur Ducem. . . . Lacrymabantur universi qui aderant, et orationibus intenti præstolabantur exitum rei; et omnium suspensa expectatio, nescio quid divinum fieri cœlitus expectabat. Videns Comes Abbatem in spiritu vehementi procedentem, et sacratissimum Domini Corpus ferentem in manibus, expavit et diriguit, membrisque tremebundis metu et dissolutis, quasi amens solo provolvitur."

[1] Opera, vol. sec., epist. Gauf. col. 2555.

"All too quickly and too lightly have you started back from the good and healthful counsel which you had accepted, and again have hastily returned, as I hear, through I know not what diabolical suggestion, to the evils which lately you were sorry to have perpetrated. From whom, I say, except from the Devil, can have proceeded this counsel, by which it comes to pass that fires are added to fires, murders to murders, while the cries of the poor, the groans of the chained, the blood of the slain, sound in the ears of Him who is the Father of the fatherless, and the Judge of widows! Plainly, with such sacrifices the ancient enemy of our race may be well pleased, since he was a murderer from the beginning. . . . You have not listened to words of peace, nor kept your own compacts, nor hearkened to wise counsel: but, I know not under what judgment of God, you have so perverted everything as to count shame honor, and honor shame; you have been afraid of what was safe, and have despised what ought to be feared; you have loved those who hated you, and have held in hatred those who desired to love you. They who have incited you to repeat your old malice against those who have not offended have sought, not your honor, but their advantage; yea, not so much their own advantage as the good pleasure of the Devil. . . . In the murders of men, the burning of dwellings, the destruction of churches, the scattering of the poor, you take part with the robbers and ruffians, according to the word of the prophet, 'When you saw a thief you ran in company with him, and took your portion with adulterers;' as if you had not strength enough in yourself to do evil. . . . I admonish and faithfully counsel you quickly to desist from these malign courses, if perchance by penitence and humility you may stay the hand of Him who

is preparing to smite you, after the example of the Ninevite king. I speak harshly, because I fear harder things in reserve for you; but remember what was said by the wise man, 'Better are the wounds of a friend than the false kiss of an enemy.'"[1]

The fervent and majestic rebuke of Bernard was not instantly effective; but after a time it took effect, and the subsequent readiness of Louis to engage in the second crusade is attributed in part to the remorse which he felt at the cruelties of the war which the abbot had denounced. He became so completely reconciled to Theobald as afterward to marry his daughter.

There was less of indignant severity, but certainly not less of an almost startling moral audacity, in Bernard's address to Henry of Normandy, king of England, when he sought from him an acknowledgment of Innocent as the Pope. The English bishops being opposed to this, the king hesitated and practically refused. "What are you afraid of?" was the passionate and successful appeal of Bernard. "Do you fear to incur sin by recognizing Innocent as pontiff? Know that for your other sins you shall give account for yourself unto God. Leave this one to me! The whole sin shall rest upon myself."[2]

To the Pope himself, whom he revered in his office as the divinely appointed Head of the Church, he wrote in sharpest remonstrance, with a criticism which scorched, when occasion demanded. Innocent Second had failed to fulfil a promise made for him, on his authority, by Bernard, and the letters which the latter had written on the matter had not been effective. Then went another from Clairvaux, which could not be

[1] Opera, vol. prim., epist. ccxxi. coll. 449–451.

[2] Opera, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. ii. col. 2148.

unheeded: "Who shall execute justice for me upon you? If I had any judge before whom I might cite you, I would instantly show you — I speak this as one travailing in pain — what you have deserved at my hands. There stands, indeed, the tribunal of Christ; but God forbid that I should summon you before that; I, who would rather, if it were needful for you or possible to me, stand there in your place with all my strength, and make answer to the Judge on your behalf. I return, therefore, to him to whom it is given for the present to be the Judge in the world, that is, to yourself; I summon you to answer to yourself; judge you, between me and you."[1]

So he wrote to the same pontiff, on another occasion: "I speak faithfully, because I love truly. . . . It is the united voice of all among us who with faithful care preside over the people, that justice perishes in the Church, that the power of the keys is annulled, and Episcopal authority is brought to contempt; since no bishop has it in his power to avenge injuries done to God, nor can any one punish unlawful things in his own diocese. They attribute the cause of this to you, and to the Roman Curia. Things rightly done by them, they say, are overturned by you; things justly destroyed, you re-establish. Whoever are criminal or quarrelsome among either people or clergy, with monks outcast from their monasteries, rush to you; and returning they boast, with passionate gestures, that they have found protectors where they should have found punishers. . . . For shame! the thing moves and will move derisive laughter among the enemies of the Church, those, even, by whose fear or favor you have been led from the right way. Your friends are

[1] Opera, vol. prim., epist. cxiii. col. 440.

confounded; the faithful are insulted; and the bishops are brought everywhere to opprobrium and contempt, their just judgments being despised, to the damage most of all of your own authority."[1]

To Eugenius Third, a succeeding pontiff, who had been one of his own monastic pupils, Bernard wrote in admonitory words which have the key to his own life in them: "In all thy works remember that thou art but a man, and let the fear of Him who taketh away the breath of princes be continually before thine eyes! Of how many Roman pontiffs hast thou with thine own eyes seen the death, in a brief space of time! Let these thy predecessors admonish thee of thine own most certain soon-coming decease! that the brief time of their domination may declare to thee the fewness of thine own days. Amid the blandishments of the present passing glory, remember thine own recent estate; because those whom thou now followest in the Holy See thou shalt also certainly soon follow in death."[2] Again he wrote to him, more at length, in his tract on Consideration: "Brush aside the deceit of the fugitive honor, despise the glitter of the painted pomp, and think of thyself simply as naked, even as thou camest from the mother's womb! Art thou ornamented with badges, shining with jewels, brilliant in silks, crowned with plumes, stuffed out with golden and silver embroideries? If thou shalt expel from contemplation all these things, so swiftly passing and soon utterly to vanish like morning mists, there will appear to thee a man, naked, poor, needy, miserable, grieving because he is a man, blushing at his nakedness, deploring his birth; a man born to labor, not to honor; born of a woman, and

[1] Vol. prim., epist. clxxviii. col. 398.

[2] Opera, vol. prim., epist. ccxxxviii. col. 503.

so under condemnation; living only a little while, and therefore full of fear; replete with miseries, and weeping because of them."[1] He admonished him that the Church was full of ambitious men, who would be importunate in requests, but that if he were himself to hear any causes brought before him by appeal they must be the cause of the widow, the cause of the poor, and of him who had no bribe to offer;[2] and he set before him, with unswerving and majestic distinctness, the moral image of a true Pope,— writing it, manifestly, with a rush of feeling which made every word a separate force:—

"Remember, first of all, that the holy Roman Church, over which thou art chief, is the mother of churches, not their sovereign mistress; that thou thyself art not the Lord of bishops, but one among them,[3] a brother of those delighting in God, and a partaker with those that fear Him. For the rest, regard thyself as under obligation to be the figure of justice, the mirror of holiness, the exemplar of piety, the restorer of its freedom to truth, the defender of the faith, the teacher of nations, the guide of Christians, the friend of the Bridegroom, the bridesman of the Bride, the regulator of the clergy, the pastor of the people, the master of the foolish, the refuge of the oppressed, the advocate of the poor, the hope of the suffering, the protector of orphans, the judge of widows, eyes to the blind, a tongue to the dumb, the staff of the aged, an avenger of crimes, a terror to evil-doers, and a glory to

[1] Opera, vol. prim., De Consid., ii. 9, col. 1034.

[2] Ibid., col. 1079.

[3] "Consideres ante omnia sanctam Romanam Ecclesiam, cui Deo auctor præes, Ecclesiarum matrem esse, non dominam; te vero non dominum episcoporum, sed unum ex ipsis;" etc.

the good, a rod for the powerful, a hammer for tyrants, the father of kings, the director of laws, the superintendent of canons, the salt of the earth, the light of the world, the priest of the Most High, the vicar of Christ, the anointed of the Lord. Remember what I say," he adds, "and the Lord give thee understanding."[1]

It was something, certainly, in that time of confusion, ambition, fear, when pontifical authority had come so widely to overshadow the Continent, to have present a man like this, whose voice must be heard, and who fearlessly presented to pontiffs themselves the duty which belonged to their eminent station. He at any rate repeated before them, with a more sublime emphasis than any music could give, the words which used to be sung at their coronation,— which perhaps are still sung there, while the light flax blazes in a cresset,— "Sic transit gloria mundi!" One cannot but see, too, that Bernard's own ideal of the true Christian spirit and service is vividly expressed in his words. He has outlined himself, however unconsciously, in his letters to the Pope.

But his courage was not shown toward prelates alone, or toward princes and kings. It faced as well, with dauntless composure, the fury of the mob, and was combined with a compassion which only matched its more than knightly intrepidity. One instance will suffice to exhibit this.

It is nearly impossible for us to understand the condition of the Jews in western Europe in the time of Bernard. The religion of the age hated and cursed them, as being the descendants of the murderers of the Lord, who would doubtless gladly repeat the crime if they had opportunity. The wealth which they had

[1] Opera, vol. prim., De Consideratione, lib. iv. coll. 1070–72.

acquired by trading or by usury exposed them to fierce envy, and drew upon them the revengeful passion of those whom they had cheated, or of those whom they surpassed. Despised and outcast as they were, into the Jewish scrip or wallet fortresses had melted. The coarse gabardine often covered wealth for which a hundred ruffians hungered. Their swarthy complexion and Semitic features set them apart from the Gallic and Teutonic peoples; and they might not dwell where others did. The most frightful rumors concerning their crimes found ready acceptance: that they stole Christian children, crucified them privately,[1] and used their entrails for purposes of magic; that they stole the wafers in which the body of Christ was presented, stabbed them with stilettos, boiled them in oil, or slowly though frantically roasted them on coals. The populace was easily stirred against them to a fury which knew no limit of reason. If they fled, that was taken as proof of their guilt. If they remained, they were held guilty of contumacy, and of malignant defiance. No one could intercede for them without incurring hateful suspicions. Even wise and good men, like Peter the Venerable, accused them of getting possession of

[1] Matthew Paris supplies an incidental illustration of what is said above, in mentioning an incident which occurred in London a hundred years later [A.D. 1244]: —

Eodem vero anno, inventum est corpusculum cujusdam pueri masculi inhumatum in cimiterio Sancti Benedicti, in cujus cruribus et brachiis et sub mamillis literis Hebraicis regulariter fuit inscriptum. . . . Credebant etiam, nec sine causa, quod Judæi ipsum puerulum in Jesu Christi improperium et contumeliam, quod frequenter relatum est accidisse, vel crucifixerant vel crucifigendum variis tormentis exagitaverant, et cum jam exspirasset, eum cruci indignum illuc projecisse. . . . Interim quidam Judæorum Londoniensium clandestinam et repentinam fugam inierunt irredituri, qui eo ipso se suspectos merito reddiderunt. — *Chron. Maj.*, vol. iv. p. 377. London ed., 1877.

the sacred vessels of the Church, and applying these to the basest uses; and while he did not recommend that they be killed off-hand, he did advise that they receive punishments commensurate with what he esteemed their offences; that though life be spared, they be plundered of their money.[1]

Especially when the temper which prompted the crusades was sweeping with passionate violence over Europe, it was natural that animosity to the Jews should rise to the very fever-point. 'To kill the enemies of the cross in Palestine? Certainly! But why not, first of all, in our own streets, these greedy, greasy, hook-nosed descendants of the howling mob which carried Christ to his Calvary? Kill *them;* and then the less obnoxious Saracens!' Such was the temper of the time that when Rudolph, a stubborn and sanguinary German monk, declared himself commissioned of the Lord to undertake this home-crusade, and preached along the Rhine "Death to the Jews," he had at once

[1] Si detestandi sunt Sarraceni, quia quamvis Christum de Virgine ut nos natum fateantur, multaque de ipso nobiscum sentiant, tamen Deum Deique Filium (quod majus est) negant, mortemque ipsius ac resurrectionem, in quibus tota summa salutis nostræ est, diffitentur, quantum exsecrandi et odio habendi sunt Judæi, qui nihil prorsus de Christo vel fide Christiana sentientes, ipsum virgeneum partum, cunctaque redemptionis humanæ sacramenta abjiciunt, blasphemant, subsannant? . . . Sentit plane in his quæ non sentiunt sibi sacratis vasis, Judaicas adhuc contumelias Christus, quia, ut sæpe a veracibus viris audivi, eis usibus cœlestia illa vasa ad ejusdem Christi nostrumque dedecus nefandi illi applicant; quod horrendum est cogitare, et detestandum dicere. . . . Reservetur eis vita, auferatur pecunia, ut per dextras Christianorum, adjutas pecuniis blasphemantium Judæorum, expugnetur infidelium audacia Sarracenorum. Serviant populis Christianis, etiam ipsis invitis, divitiæ Judæorum. — *Epist. Pet. Ven.*, lib. iv. xxxvi. [Migne], coll. 367, 368.

The letter was written to Louis, King of France, and closes with the sincere but extraordinary words: "Hæc tibi, benigne rex, scripsi amore Christi," etc.

an enormous following. Thousands, it is said, from Cologne, Mayence, Worms, Strasburg, assembling for the second expedition to Palestine, turned on the Jews their sharpened swords, and slew them in multitudes. It seemed, almost, as if none would be left. The archbishop of Mayence, a humane man, could do nothing effectual to check the fury of the murderous paroxysm, and he turned for help — as nearly everybody did who felt under constraint to do a work at once noble and dangerous — to the Abbot of Clairvaux. That help was not wanting. Bernard wrote to the archbishop in severest condemnation of Rudolph and his course, characterizing him as a man without heart, a man without shame, whose insensate folly was conspicuous to all, who had usurped the function of preaching, despised authority, given license to murder. "The Church triumphs more abundantly over the Jews," he adds, "in every day convincing and converting them, than if it were to give them all on the instant to be consumed by the sword. Wherefore that universal prayer for the unbelieving Jews, offered incessantly in the Church from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, that God would take away the veil from their hearts, and lead them out of darkness into the glorious light of the truth? Unless the Church hopes that they, though now unbelieving, may come to true faith, how superfluous and vain to offer such prayer for them!" The doctrine of Rudolph was not his own doctrine, but that of his Father, the Devil, who had sent him. It was enough for this monk to be like his Master, a murderer and a liar, and the father of lies. "Oh, monstrous doctrine!" he adds. "Oh, what infernal counsel! contrary to prophets, hostile to apostles, practically subversive of all piety and grace! — a sacrilegious har-

lot of a doctrine, impregnated with the very spirit of falsehood, conceiving anguish, and bringing forth iniquity!"[1] Bernard wrote with a rush of indignant severity, because the matter lay near his heart; for he had written already that the Jews were not to be persecuted, nor slain, nor exiled. "They are scattered among all nations," he said, "for this purpose, that while they make just expiation of their sin they may be the witnesses of our redemption." He had stigmatized Christian usurers as worse than the Jewish, if indeed they were to be called Christians at all, and not rather baptized Jews; and he had insisted that it was the part of Christian piety, while conquering the proud to spare the humble, especially those to whom the law had been given, and the promises, whose were the Fathers, and from whom according to the flesh Christ came, who is Blessed forever.[2]

Stern and vehement, however, as was his remonstrance, it did not avail with the truculent Rudolph, or with the ignorant and frantic populations. He therefore went himself to Mayence, met Rudolph, and broke his spirit almost as suddenly and quite as completely as he had broken that of William of Aquitaine. He met the enraged and murderous mob, only more exasperated because Rudolph had now failed to lead it, and scattered that, as a thousand lances could not have done it; and he saved the Jews, as they themselves gratefully recognized, from prolonged and general massacre.[3] Indeed his example, and the energy of his

[1] Opera, vol. prim., epist. cccIxv., coll. 666–667.

[2] Opera, vol. prim., epist. cccIxiii., coll. 663–664.

[3] See the contemporaneous Hebrew testimony, quoted largely by Ratisbonne, "Hist. de St. Bernard," tom. ii. pp. 176–179. A few sentences from a Hebrew document written at the time, and afterward translated into French, sufficiently illustrate the grateful homage of the Jews to Bernard:

words, distinctly affected the attitude toward the Jews of the Church authorities from that time on, and were always a defence for the persecuted people.

Toward even those of heretical sects, who had departed from the Church, and who were teaching doctrines which to him appeared shameful and baneful, his spirit was compassionate. Their summary execution grievously displeased him. "They are to be overcome," he said, "not with weapons, but with arguments; to be led back to the faith by instruction and persuasion." Only when such means had failed of success might the governing powers resort to force, to prevent the destroying mischief from spreading.[1]

In his personal meditations he tended habitually to contemplate the sufferings of Christ and His persuasive and tender invitations, rather than His lordship and glory. I do not mean, of course, to imply that such

"Ainsi parlait cet homme sage; et sa voix était redoutable: car il était aimé et respecté de tous. Ils l'écoutèrent donc; et le feu de leur colère se refroidit: et ils n'accomplirent pas tout le mal qu'ils voulaient nous faire. Le prêtre Bernard n'avait reçu cependant ni argent ni rançon de la part des Juifs; c'était son cœur qui le portait à les aimer et qui lui suggérait de bonnes paroles pour Israël. Je te bénis, ô Adonaï, mon Dieu; car nous avions allumé ton courroux, et tu nous as pardonné et consolés en suscitant ce juste, sans lequel nul d'entre nous n'aurait conservé sa vie" (p. 179).

[1] Capiantur, dico, non armis, sed argumentis, quibus refollantur errores eorum: ipsi vero, si fieri potest, reconcilientur Catholicæ, revocentur ad veram fidem. Hæc est enim voluntas ejus qui vult omnes homines salvos fieri, et ad agnitionem veritatis venire. . . . Itaque homo de Ecclesia exercitatus et doctus, si cum hæretico homine disputari aggreditur, illo intentionem suam dirigere debet, quatenus ita errantem convincat, ut et convertat. Quod si reverti noluerit, nec convictus post primam jam et secundam admonitionem, utpote qui omnino subversus est: erit secundum Apostolum devitandus. Ex hoc jam melius (ut quidem ego arbitror) effugatur, aut etiam religatur, quam sinitur vineas demoliri. — *Opera*, vol. prim., Ser. in Cant., lxiv., col. 3052.

contemplation was peculiar to him among the men of his time, or that it has ever been unfamiliar in Christian experience. But the strong scholastic tendency which in that age was rapidly rising and spreading, and which largely dominated the following centuries, was naturally occupied with abstruse questions, more fascinating sometimes in proportion to their remoteness from practical concerns; and it lacked almost wholly the fine inspiration to affectionate devoutness, and to an heroic consecration of spirit, which came from contemplating the life of the Lord, especially His unsearchable sufferings. On the other hand it was consonant with the temper of the time that the earnest men who were zealously endeavoring to stay the fierce currents of iniquity, and to curb and govern the riotous passions of ambition and lust which had the impulse of centuries behind them, should dwell most largely on the kingship of Christ, and on His office as Judge of the world, not omitting but subordinating that which to human eyes represented His weakness; while on all sides, within the Church, and sometimes in its highest positions, were men as utterly infidel to the Gospel as any succeeding age has shown; who jested at the mysteries which they claimed to celebrate, and who thought, if they did not say, with the accomplished emperor Frederic Second, a hundred years later, when the host was being carried on the street amid prostrate worshippers, "How long shall this imposture continue?" [1]

[1] Matthew Paris shrinks from repeating the words attributed by common fame to the Emperor, but he refers to them in these terms: —

Imponebatur enim ei, quod vacillans in fide catholica dixerit verba ex quibus elici potuit non tantum fidei imbecillitas, quin immo hæresis et blasphemiæ enormitas execranda, . . . et de eucharistia quædam deliramenta protulisse. — *Chronica Majora*, vol. iii. p. 520 [an. 1238]. London ed., 1876.

Bernard was a man keenly sensitive to all subtle and powerful influences in the social atmosphere, but he remained unconquered and almost untouched by those which thus assailed him, because his soul was vitally and constantly centred in Christ, and centred in Him as a suffering yet a glorified Redeemer. A man of quick and discursive intelligence, assiduously engaged in practical work, he saw the Lord in all His offices, and did not hesitate, as we have seen, to invoke the utmost terrors of His judgment against the stubborn resisting will of baron or prince. But there is something beautiful and significant in the reverent regard with which his mind turned spontaneously to the sufferings of Christ. In the fields, under the beloved shade of his oaks, in the arbor where he meditated his sermons, or in his cell, he tells us himself that these were the favorite subject of his thought. Preaching upon Canticles i. 13, "A bundle of myrrh is my Beloved to me," he says, "And I, Brethren, from the outset of my conversion, in place of that abundance of deserts in which I knew myself to be wanting, have been careful to collect this bundle of myrrh, and to lay it upon my breast, gathered from all the anxieties and the bitternesses suffered by my Lord; as first, of the needs of his infant years; then of the labors which he performed in preaching, his fatigues in journeying, his vigils of prayer, his temptations in fasting, his tears of sympathy, the snares laid for him in his speech; finally, of his perils among false brethren, of the revilings, spittings, blows, derisions, the insults and nails, and like bitter things, endured for the salvation of our race, which the Gospel-grove as you know abundantly presents. . . . Such meditations uplift my spirit in adverse times; they moderate it when things are prosperous; and they

offer safe leadership to one trying to walk in the King's highway, between the sorrows and joys of the present life on either hand. . . . Therefore these things are often on my lips, as you know; they are always in my heart, as God knows; they are ever familiar to my pen, as is evident to all; and this is constantly my highest philosophy, to know Jesus Christ, and Him crucified." [1]

So, in another discourse, upon the Passion of Christ, he says: "See now the works of the Lord, what wonders he hath accomplished on the earth! He was beaten with rods, crowned with thorns, bruised with stones, fastened to a cross, filled full with reproaches; yet unmindful of all griefs he says, 'Father, forgive them!' Hence [we understand] the many sufferings of his body, hence the pities of his heart; hence the anguish, hence the compassion; hence the oil of gladness, hence the gouts of blood running down to the ground. . . . O, how great is the multitude of Thy mercies, O Lord! How far removed from our thoughts are Thy thoughts! How enduring is Thy pity, even toward the impious! A marvellous thing, indeed! He cries, 'Forgive them!' while the Jews cry, 'Crucify Him!' His words are softer than oil, while theirs are spears. . . . Oh, Jews! ye are stones; but ye strike a softer stone, from which rings out the response of pity, while the oil of charity gushes from it! How wilt thou, O Lord, make those who delight in Thee to drink of the abundant river of Thy pleasures, since Thou thus pourest the oil of Thy mercy even upon those who crucify Thee!" [2]

There was nothing morbid, and nothing debilitating to the spirit of Bernard, in this frequent meditation on the sufferings of the Lord. On the other hand, it was

[1] Opera, vol. prim., Ser. in Cant., xliii., coll. 2932-2934.
[2] Opera, vol. prim., Ser. de Pass. Dom., coll. 1942-44.

simply exalting and quickening to whatever in him was most heroic. His thought of the Cross illuminated the Gospel, and glorified the Church; and it carried him on, with unfailing inspiration, to and through all magnificent enterprise. Because the Lord had been divinely compassionate, he sought and strove to reproduce in himself this heavenly temper. Because the King of grace and glory had dared and suffered all things for him, he feared no peril, and shrank from no pain, in His supreme service. In general, it may certainly be said of his character that it was marked, quite beyond parallel in his time, by the combination in it of the affectionate and meditative habit, which if left to itself might have made him an absorbed musing mystic, with the intensely practical spirit, which if left to itself would have made his life effective, no doubt, but mechanical, diplomatic. The union of the two gave him his pre-eminence; and they were as subtly interfused in his soul as are heat and light in the solar beam.

Ecstatic contemplation was the employment of many of his hours; when he seemed neither to see nor hear, nor to have the use of any sense; when man was forgotten, and the forms of nature failed to attract him; as when he rode an entire day along the shore of the Lake of Geneva, through the loveliest and grandest sceneries of Europe, and did not know until evening that the lake had been near him.[1] In such hours he meditated on the love of God, of which he wrote to some of his friends in words which show his experience of it.

[1] Juxta lacum etiam Lausanensem totius diei itinere pergens, penitus eum non vidit, aut se videre non vidit. Cum enim vespere facto de eodem lacu socii colloquerentur, interrogabat eos, ubi ille lacus esset; et mirati sunt universi. — *Opera*, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. ii. cap. 2, col. 2192.

"At first," he says, "man loves himself for his own sake. When he sees that he cannot subsist by himself, he begins by faith to seek after and to love God, as needful to him. So he loves God on a secondary level, for his own sake, not for God's. But when he has thus begun, by reason of his own need, to care for God, and to resort to Him in thought, in study, in prayer, and in obedience, even through an acquaintance of this sort little by little God gradually becomes known to him, and is properly lovely to his thought; and so, having found by tasting how sweet the Lord is, man passes to the third stage, in which he loves God for God's sake, not his own. Upon this level he abides; and I know not whether by any man the fourth stage in this life hath been perfectly reached, in which he shall love himself only for God's sake. If any assert that they have experienced this, I can only confess that for me it seems impossible. But beyond doubt this will come when the good and faithful servant of the Lord shall enter fully into His joy, and be transported at the riches of God's house. As if inebriate with gladness, he shall then in a wonderful way be forgetful of himself, and departing spiritually out of himself he shall wholly ascend to God, and be thenceforth united with Him as one spirit."[1]

In these ecstatic meditations came to Bernard that rejoicing sense, that almost vision, of the Church on High which very often appeared in his discourse. "The land which the soul of the saint inhabits," he says in one of his sermons, "is not a land of forgetfulness, nor a land of labor with which one must be occupied. In a word, it is not earth, but heaven. And will habitation in celestial regions harden the spirits of those whom

[1] Opera, vol. prim., epist. xi. col. 153.

they receive, or deprive them of memory, or despoil them of affection? Brethren, the amplitude of heaven doth not contract the heart, but dilates it; it exhilarates the mind, does not deprive it of reason; it expands the affections, and does not restrict them. In the light of God, the memory becomes serenely clear, it is not obscured; in the light of God, one learns what he did not know, he does not unlearn what here he knew. Even those superior spirits who have dwelt in heaven from the beginning, do they because inhabiting heaven look with disdain upon the earth? do they not rather visit and frequent it? Does affection fail in their ministry because they see always the face of the Father? Rather, are they not all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister to those who have the heirship of salvation? What then? Shall angels go abroad and succor men, and those who are of ourselves be ignorant of us, or not know how to sympathize with us in the things which they themselves have suffered? They who have come out of great tribulation, shall they not recognize those who still continue in it?"[1]

Undoubtedly, in such fond and frequent contemplation of those who had passed from the darkness of earth to be enthroned in the light of heaven lay a certain peril, afterward sadly developed as we think, in minds less closely affiliated with Christ than was Bernard's; the peril of seeking the aid, and the intercessory prayer, of those who had entered within the veil. To Bernard himself this seemed a fit and natural impulse: though Christ was always supreme in his thought as the hearer of prayer, and he chiefly presented the blessed dead as inspiring effort to imitate their virtues, not as offering

[1] Opera, vol. prim., Ser. ii. de S. Victor, coll. 2082–2083.

mediation before God.[1] Thus, in the sermon immediately preceding the one just referred to, he says: "Let us study to be conformed to his manners, whose wonderful experiences we could not rival if we would? Let us emulate the sobriety of life in this man; his devout affection; his gentleness of spirit, his chastity of body, his guardianship of his lips, his purity of mind; putting reins on our anger, and moderation on our speech; sleeping less, praying oftener, communing with one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs; joining the nights to the days, and occupying both with Divine worship. Let us emulate him in the best gifts; learning from him what it is to be of a meek and lowly spirit; striving to be as he was, generous to the poor, delightful to his friends, patient toward sinners, benignant toward all. In these things we shall be impressed with the beauty of him by the glory of whose miracles we are simply humbled. The miracles may gladden us, but these things will edify; the others may excite us, but these will nobly set us forward."[2] In his extended and manifold writings one finds few references to the invocation of saints, however aided by ample indexes; and these few have a singularly hesitating tone. "Who knows," he says in a sermon upon the death of a monk, "but he has been taken away that he may be our protector by his prayers before the Father? Would that so it might be."[3] And again he

[1] In the same sermon from which I have quoted, he says: "Eia ergo fortis athleta, dulcis patrone, advocate fidelis, exsurge in adjutorium nobis, ut et nos de nostra ereptione gaudeamus, et tu de plena victoria glorieris. . . . O victor Jesu, te in nostro Victore laudamus, quia te in illo vicisse cognoscimus. Da ei, piissime Jesu, sic de sua in te victoria gloriari, ut non subeat oblivio nostri." col. 2084.

[2] Opera, vol. prim., Ser. i. de St. Victor, col. 2079.

[3] Opera, vol. prim., Ser. de Obit. Humbert. col. 2268.

says that, "because men are afraid of God, and fear to approach him worthily by themselves, therefore they desire others to supplicate for them."[1] It is quite evident, I think, that the reliance on the prayers of the departed, which afterward became so prominent and so enfeebling a force in the experience and worship of the Church, was comparatively unfamiliar to Bernard, in spite of the fact that his thought of those who had gone already to the skies was so constant and vivid that at times he seemed to see them.

The vision of his mother, I have said before, more than once appeared to him. The vision of Christ, and of the Holy Mother of Christ, he also felt that he had had, more than once. Once, when a child, on Christmas eve, having fallen asleep in church while waiting for the service which had been delayed, the Lord appeared to him in his dream as a new-born infant.[2] Once, when grievously sick, the Virgin seemed to come to him personally, to succor and heal.[3] When in great distress of spirit at the ruin which appeared to threaten his new abbey, while pouring out his soul in prayer, he saw the hills round about him full of men, various in dress and in condition, descending toward the valley, till the valley could not contain them.[4] On his way to the council at Étampes, where the choice of the French Church was to be made between rival popes, to which council he had been specially summoned by king and prelates, and to which he was going, as he said him-

[1] Ibid., Ser. xxv. de Divers. col. 2384.

[2] Opera, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. i. cap. 2, col. 2094.

[3] Ibid., cap. 12, col. 2132.

[4] Subito stans in ipsa oratione, modice interclusis oculis, vidit undique ex vicinis montibus tantam diversi habitus et diversæ conditionis hominum multitudinem in inferiorem vallem descendere, ut vallis ipsa capere non posset. — *Ibid.*, Vita, i. cap. 5, col. 2111.

self, fearful and trembling, he had a vision in the night of an immense church filled with those harmoniously uniting in the praises of God; and he took from it the sure expectation that the peace of the Church was now to be secured.[1] Almost at the close of his life, in peculiarly critical and dangerous circumstances, he had another vision, of himself uniting with distant monks in singing the Gloria in Excelsis, which gave him perfect quietness of mind in the midst of what to others was a scene of portentous fury and gloom.[2]

His spirit at such times, in the height and intensity of its absorbed contemplation, might have seemed in danger of passing the boundary between sanity and delirium; of becoming, at least, essentially unfitted for practical affairs. Yet no dull artisan working at his trade, no soldier in arms, no statesman in council, was more punctual and exact in the performance of daily duty than was this enthusiastic and meditative monk. The zeal for usefulness was a passion with him. He ruled his monastery with firmness and wisdom, while taking part in its humblest labors, and preaching with extraordinary frequency and fervor. He was so practical as to be almost an iconoclast, essentially a Puritan, in regard to Church-art. "The beautiful picture of some saint is exhibited," he said in his letter to William of St. Thierry, "and it is accounted holier in proportion to the brightness of the colors. Men rush to kiss it; they are inspired to gifts; and they admire the beautiful in it, rather than reverence the sacred.

[1] Sicut postea fatebatur, non mediocriter pavidus et tremebundus advenit, periculum quippe et pondus negotii non ignorans. In itinere tamen consolatus est eum Deus, ostendens ei in visu noctis Ecclesiam magnam concorditer in Dei laudibus concinentem; unde speravit pacem sine dubio proventuram. — *Opera*, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. ii., cap. 1, col. 2147.

[2] Opera, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. v. cap. 1, col. 2252.

There are placed in the churches, not jeweled coronals but vast wheels, set around with torches, but shining hardly less with inserted gems. For candlesticks we see, as it were, great trees erected, of masses of brass, wrought with wonderful labor of the artificer, and glittering not more with the superimposed lamps than with their own jewels. What do you imagine is sought by these things? The contrition of the penitent, or the wonder of beholders? Oh, vanity of vanities! and not more vain than foolish! The Church glistens on all its walls, but the poor are not there! It clothes its stones with gold, but leaves its children to their nakedness. At the expense of the needy, it feasts the eyes of the rich. The curious find what pleases them, but the wretched find nothing to give them succor. Certainly we do not show respect to the images of saints with which the very pavement swarms, that is trodden under foot! Often there is spitting into an angel's mouth, while frequently the face of some saint is being beaten by the shoes of those passing over it. Why at any rate do you decorate what is thus immediately to be defiled? Why paint with color what so soon must be bruised? . . . And what *does* that ridiculous monstrosity accomplish for the brothers reading in the cloister? that extraordinary hideous beauty, and handsome deformity? Why are the filthy apes there? and the savage lions? Why the monstrous centaurs, and the half-human figures? You may see there one body under many heads, or again many bodies with one head. On one side is shown the tail of a serpent on a quadruped; on the other, a quadruped's head on a fish. There is a beast like a horse in the fore-part, and a goat behind; here is a horned animal with the hinder part of a horse. . . . For God's sake, even if one is not ashamed of such

absurdities, why is he not distressed at the cost of them!"[1]

It is quite apparent that the contemplative and visionary temper never overbore the practical in the mind of Bernard. He was ready for any service, however high, however humble; to preach crusades, inspire great assemblies, counsel princes, admonish pontiffs, confront heretics, or to attend to the smallest matters in regulating his monastery; and one of his latest letters, written in A.D. 1152, amid the wonderful sunset radiance which lay upon his closing life, was to the young Count of Champagne about some pigs, which had been entrusted to Bernard's care by a neighbor abbot who had gone to Rome, and which had been stolen by vassals of the count. "I would greatly have preferred," he says, "that they should have stolen my own pigs; and I require them at your hand."[2] He who lived as near to God as did any man of his time, or perhaps of any Christian century, and around whom at times the opening heavens seemed alive with forms and vivid with supernal lustres, was as cool and clear-headed, as patient and persistent in every form of what appeared to him useful activity, as any man who lived in France. Canon Kingsley has spoken of him as having a "hysterical element" in his character.[3] I may not know precisely what was intended by the adjective, but it usually represents something fitful, paroxysmal, essentially convulsive in the habit and temper; and if that were the Canon's meaning I should say there was about as much of it in Bernard as in John Calvin or Julius Cæsar.

[1] Opera, vol. prim., coll. 1243–1244.

[2] Maluissem, dico vobis, ut nostros proprios rapuissent. A vobis requirimus illos. — *Ibid.*, vol. prim., epist. cclxxix. col. 563.

[3] The Roman and the Teuton, p. 241. London ed. 1876.

He was really a wretched invalid during all his public life, not having health enough in a year to suffice an ordinary man for a week. Such had been his early austerities, that he had almost wholly lost the power of distinguishing flavors; drinking oil when it stood near him, in place of water or wine, without knowing the difference; requiring a sort of pious fraud on the part of those ministering to him to make him take what was suitable. His usual food was a bit of bread, moistened with warm water, with very little to drink.[1] The very thought of food was commonly repulsive to him, and what he took seemed only to serve to postpone death, not effectively to nourish life. At one time he had to be wholly retired from the monastery for a year, and constrained, almost by violence on the part of his friends, to live by himself, in a rude hut, under the charge of a rustic empiric whom Bernard regarded as an irrational beast,[2] but who really seems to have done him some good. He did not then recognize any difference in taste between butter and raw blood, and relished nothing except the water which cooled his throat. Yet William of St. Thierry, who visited him there, says that he found him in this mean hut, such as were built for leprous persons along highways, exulting as in the joys of Paradise; that he himself entered it with such reverence as if he were approaching an altar of God; that such was the atmosphere of sweetness pervading the place that if he could have had his choice he would have desired nothing so much as to remain always with the invalid, and serve him. "Thus I found the man of God," he says, "and thus he was dwelling in

[1] Opera, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. iii. cap. 1, col. 2190.

[2] Justo Dei judicio irrationali cuidam bestiæ datus sum ad obediendum. —*Ibid.*, Vita, i. lib. i. cap. 2, col. 2117.

his own solitude. Yet he was not alone, since God was with him, and the guardianship and comfort of holy angels." William found no difficulty in believing that alternate choirs of heavenly voices were there to be heard; for in the light which proceeded from the hut he seemed to himself to see new heavens and a new earth, the Golden Age returning at Clairvaux.[1]

Bernard had so impressed the monastery with his spirit, that it went on in his absence as if he had been present; and throughout life, amid whatever physical weakness or spiritual raptures, he not only worked himself, with an incessant energy of will which lifted his frail and sickly body into abnormal vigor, but he made all around him work, as well, for what to him were the high aims of life. His regard was equally ready and equally careful for the distant and the near. He planned and wrought as if everything depended on immediate accomplishment. And if, as his disciples believed, the Holy Virgin had appeared to him, attended by saints, in his sore sickness, and with gentle touch had relieved his distress, removed his disease, and checked the fierce flow of saliva from his lips,[2] it was that those lips might freely speak the wisest and most commanding words then heard in Europe.

[1] Opera, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. i. cap. 7, coll. 2115–2118.

[2] Vita, i. lib. i. cap. 12, col. 2132. A more extreme form which the legend subsequently took has been immortalized by Murillo in a celebrated picture in the Royal Gallery at Madrid, where the Virgin Mother is represented as appearing to Bernard while seated among his books, and causing milk from her breast to drop upon his lips, not only to heal them but to endow them with celestial eloquence, while cherubs surround her in an effulgence of heavenly glory.

It is said that the same legend is represented on the glass in one of the windows of Lichfield Cathedral. If this be so, the glass is undoubtedly part of that brought to England in the early part of this century from the abbey church of the suppressed Cistercian nunnery at Herekenrode, near Liège. See "Handbook to Cathedrals," London, 1874, p. 323.

There was only one thing which he would not do: he would not accept ecclesiastical office, with its titles and emoluments; and I have spoken to small purpose if it has not already become evident to you that it was as natural to him to be regardless of these things, as it was to be careless of discomfort or danger. His refusal of Church-distinctions seemed astonishing at the time: but he fronted Europe while he lived, as he has fronted it since on the canvasses which present his traditionary portrait, with mitres lying unregarded on his book or at his feet. Langres, Châlons-sur-Marne, as well as Genoa and Pisa, desired him for bishop. Milan vehemently claimed him as the only fit successor to the illustrious Ambrose in its majestic archbishopric. Rheims, the noblest city in France, capital of a great province, was equally eager to place him on its famous and powerful archi-episcopal throne.[1] But nothing could move him. He would live and die the Abbot of Clairvaux. His influence was not limited, however, perhaps indeed it was extended and heightened, by this disdain of official distinction. The secret of that influence is what I have been trying to present, in the man himself, and his almost unique personality.

A lover of nature and of man, tender-hearted and intense, a friend of the poor, and a patient adviser of the humblest of monks, while as fearless before power as the lightning is before the trees which it shivers, enthusiastic and compassionate, ecstatic in contemplation, indefatigable in work, with a firm and fervent faith in God, an adoring love for the Lord who had died, an apprehension — which seemed almost vision — of the realms supernal, and with an extraordinary eloquence in speech, of which I shall try to speak here-

[1] Opera, Vita, i. lib. ii. cap. 4, col. 2163.

after, — it could not but be that, whether by labor or by word, he should produce immense effects. Even the unspiritual character of the age was not wholly without advantage to him, since there was something transcending its experience, surpassing expectation, in his peculiar temper and life. He could hardly have stood in sharper contrast, not with fighting barons alone, or unscrupulous kings, but with ambitious princes in the Church, or with those who had been principal in the preceding ages. Even if he were sometimes irritable, perhaps wholly unreasonable, as occasionally he appeared even in his relations with Peter the Venerable,[1] men pardoned much to a man of whom it was commonly known that he could not exercise, eat, or sleep, and seemed only kept alive by the intensity of his spirit; they were only the more amazed at the usual serenity and equanimity of his temper. The very frailness of his body, the beauty which grew more ethereal always, thus assisted his moral power. He seemed hardly more than a palpable spirit, walking the earth on the way to heaven; and the singular supremacy over all physical desire or infirmity which his soul asserted, appeared to the common men of the time absolutely preter-human.

Men thought him almost as truly inspired as Isaiah had been, or as Saint John. It was believed that he could predict events; as when he had warned his brother Gerard that a lance would soon pierce his side, unless he gave himself to the service of religion, as shortly it did;[2] or as when he admonished the king of

[1] Compare, for example, his impetuous letters to the Pope and the cardinals, about the monk of Clugni chosen Bishop of Langres (vol. prim., epist. clxiv.–clxix., coll. 375–384), with the temperate and conciliatory letter of Peter the Venerable to himself, on the same subject. Opera Pet. Ven., lib. i. epist. xxix.

[2] Opera, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. i. cap. 11, col. 2100.

France that his eldest son, full at the time of life and promise, would die ere long, unless the king turned from certain courses. When the prince did die, by sudden casualty, the words appeared plainly prophetic.[1] Visiting once a town in Languedoc called Viride Folium [or Vert-feuil], where was a castle containing a hundred knights, well-armed and rich, when he was wholly prevented from preaching by the furious clamor raised against him, he said, as he departed from the place, "Thou castle of the green leaves, God shall dry thee up!" The ruin of castle and town which followed, by misfortune and war, and the subsequent poverty of their lord who fled to Toulouse, seemed to give tremendous fulfilment to his words.[2]

It was not doubted that he could work miracles. Humble as he was before God, he thought himself that such had been wrought through him,[3] and was sometimes perplexed and disturbed because of them. "I greatly marvel," he said to his brethren after extraordinary things had occurred at Toulouse, "what these miracles may mean, or why it should be seen that God works them by such an one as I am! For I do not seem to have read on the sacred pages of any signs sur-

[1] Opera, Vita, i. lib. iv. cap. 2, col. 2220.

[2] "Il partit, et reportant ses regards vers la ville, il la maudit, en disant; Vert-feuil, que Dieu te dessèche! Il annonçait cela sur de manifestes indices, car en ce temps, ainsi que le rapporte un vieux récit, il y avait dans ce château cent chevaliers à demeure, ayant armes, bannières, et chevaux, et s' entretenant à leurs propres frais, non aux frais d'autrui; lesquels, dès ce moment, furent affaiblis chaque année par la misère comme par les gens de guerre, si bien que la grêle fréquente, la stérilité, la guerre ou la sédition ne leur laissèrent plus un moment de repos." Quoted by Michelet, Hist. de France, tom. ii. pp. 469–470, note.

[3] See, e. g., epist. ccxlii. (ad Tolosanos), vol. prim., coll. 508–510: "Veritate nimirum per nos manifestata, manifestata autem non solum in sermone, sed etiam in virtute," etc.

passing these in kind. Of course, wonders have been accomplished by holy and perfect men, and also by deceivers. I am conscious neither of holiness nor of deceit. I know that it is not mine to equal the merits of the saints, which have been illustrated by miracles. I trust that I do not belong to the class of those who have worked many wonders in the name of God while unrecognized by Him." He conferred, privately, with spiritual men as to what the wonders might signify, and at last he seemed to himself to have found an explanation. "I know," he said, "that signs of this kind do not contemplate the holiness of the one, but the salvation of the many; that God does not look so much at moral perfection in the man by whom He works them, as at the opinion entertained about him, that He may so commend to men the holiness believed to belong to His instrument. The things are not done for the benefit of those by whom they are done, but for the greater number who see them or know of them. God does not work such things by any to the end that He may prove them holier than others, but that others may become more eager lovers and seekers of His holiness. The signs imply nothing personal to myself; since I know them to be occasioned by the reputation which has come to me, rather than by my life; they are not to give commendation to me, but admonition to others."[1] The spirit in which he thus spoke not unnaturally seems to his biographer quite as marvellous as any of his miracles; to emulate his Divine affection and to follow in his spiritual footsteps, not less difficult, while certainly more useful, than to try to penetrate the mystery of his astonishing and unaccountable works.

If any credit is to be given to human testimony, fur-

[1] Vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. iii. cap. 7, col. 2204.

nished by those who claimed to have been eye-witnesses of the facts, it cannot be doubted that a most extraordinary force operated through him on those who sought his ever-ready assistance. Much, no doubt, may be fairly attributed to his unique and impressive personality, and to the immense effect which it produced on those who received him as a messenger from God. Much is also, no doubt, to be ascribed to the credulous, unintelligent, and uncritical character of the times around him, when whole peoples were in a condition of moral childhood, especially sensitive to words of high moral command. For myself, I easily lay aside the many miracles related of him in monkish legends after his death, with those which particularly concerned the treatment of nervous diseases, or even of semi-delirious conditions. But when it is asserted by contemporaries that fevers were cured, or ulcers removed, by his presence, his word, his touch; when it is affirmed by Godfrey his secretary, himself afterward abbot of Clairvaux, that he had personally seen the deaf made to hear, the blind to see, and the paralyzed to walk,[1] I do not know what better to do than to accept the words of Neander concerning such marvels: that "when they appear in connection with a governing Christian temper, actuated by the spirit of love, they may perhaps be properly regarded as solitary workings of that higher

[1] Evidenter enim verbum hoc prædicavit, Domino co-operante, et sermonem confirmante sequentibus signis. Sed quantis, et quam multiplicibus signis? Quanta vel numerare, nedum narrare difficile foret. Nam et eodem tempore scribi cœperant, sed ipsa demum scriptorem numerositas scribendorum, et materia superavit auctorem. — *Opera*, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. iii. cap. 4, col. 2196.

Et cum dici soleat nihil esse facilius dicto; huic tamen Dei famulo per gratiam quam acceperat, signa facere magis facile videbatur, quam nobis facta narrare. — *Ibid.*, Vita, i. lib. iv. cap. 8, col. 2244.

power of life, which Christ introduced into human nature."[1] Certainly, the general mind of Europe, though not altogether without dissent, accepted them as miracles. Bernard never claimed any authority derived from them, over men's faith or conduct, but others instinctively attributed such authority to him; and it is not extravagant to say that if any one had declared him to be the Lord, returned for a season to the earth which He had left, multitudes would have accepted the word with a passionate enthusiasm which the great abbot would only have recognized as insane blasphemy, but which even he could hardly have restrained.

He seems not to have been elated by any effect produced by him upon either the bodies or souls of men. He always wrote and spoke of himself with that beautiful humility which was recognized by his companions as among the chief and the loveliest of his traits, even at the time when, as Baronius says, he "was the ornament and support of the whole Catholic Church, and preeminently the honor, glory, and joy of the Church in France;"[2] when men familiarly spoke of him as more the pope than was the pontiff, and therefore committed to him their affairs;[3] when, as Milman has accurately said, he was "at once the leading and the governing head of Christendom."[4] As one of his early biographers said of him, "The humility of his heart surpassed the majesty of his fame."[5] When receiving the profuse honors and adulation of princes or of peoples he did not

[1] Hist. of Church, vol. iv. p. 257.

[2] Eccles. Annal., tom. xix. p. 73; ed. Lucæ.

[3] Aiunt non vos esse Papam, sed me; et undique ad me confluunt, qui habent negotia. — *Opera*, vol. prim., epist. ccxxxix. col. 503 [to Eugenius].

[4] Hist. of Lat. Christ., vol. iv. p. 155. New York ed. 1861.

[5] Vita, ii. cap. 17, col. 2440: Vincebat tamen sublimitatem nominis humilitas cordis.

seem to himself to be Bernard, but some one else substituted for him, only recognizing himself in his proper personality when he resumed familiar talk with the humbler of his brethren.[1] To the end of his life, his sense of the want of all merit in himself was as keen and deep as when in his youth he had sought the Lord. One of the last letters, if not the very last, dictated by him, — when sleep had wholly forsaken him, when he could take no nourishment, when his feet and limbs were painfully swollen, but while his mind continued alert as ever, — was to his friend the Abbot of Bonneval, and contained the touching words: "Pray to the Saviour, who wills not the death of any sinner, that He will not delay my now seasonable departure from the earth, but that He will protect it. Be solicitous to defend by your prayers one at the extremity of life, who is destitute of all merits; that he who plots insidiously against us may not find where he may inflict any wound. In my present condition I have dictated these words, that you may know my heart."[2]

But while thus recognizing no desert in himself he was ready, even anxious, to depart and be with Christ. When the prayers of the monks on his behalf had produced as it seemed a partial recovery, he said: "Why do you detain a miserable man? You are the stronger, and prevail against me. Spare me! Spare me! I be-

[1] Summus reputabatur ab omnibus, infimum ipse se reputans: et quem sibi omnes, ipse se nemini præferebat. Denique, sicut nobis sæpius fatebatur, inter summos quosque honores et favores populorum, vel sublimium personarum, alterum sibi mutuatus hominem videbatur, seque potius reputabat absentem, velut quoddam somnium suspicatus. Ubi vero simpliciores ei fratres, ut assolet, fiducialius loquerentur, et amica semper liceret humilitate frui; ibi se invenisse gaudebat, et in propriam rediisse personam. — *Opera*, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. iii. cap. 7, col. 2206.

[2] Ibid., vol. prim., epist. cccx. coll. 594-595.

seech you, and permit me to depart!"[1] When they crowded around his dying bed, exclaiming with tears and moans, 'Wilt thou not pity us, our Father? wilt thou not compassionate those whom thou hitherto hast nourished in thy love?' weeping, as the narrator says, with them that wept, and lifting to heaven his dove-like eyes, he answered that he was pressed between two, not knowing whether to choose to tarry with them or to go to Christ; and he left it all to the will of God. It was his last word, for with it he died. "Happy transition!" says one of those who stood beside his bed, "from labor to rest, from hope to reward, from combat to crown, from death to life, from faith to knowledge, from the far wandering to the native home, from the world to the Father!"[2]

The life on earth was ended thus, at about nine o'clock in the morning, on the twentieth of August, A.D. 1153. It had continued sixty-two years.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I think of this man as I have so imperfectly described him, and of the work accomplished by him, which I hope also in a measure to set forth in subsequent lectures; I see the extraordinary power which he with incessant zeal exerted for what to him were noblest ends, in a century full of ignorance and sin, of cruel strife and reckless ambition, yet for which other ages had made preparation, and from which went large influence forward to the following time; and then I trace him back to the childhood-years in his father's castle, and think of the saintly mother, Aletta, who bore him and trained him, and gave him utterly to God, and who in the eagerness of her impas-

[1] Opera, Vita, i. lib. v. cap. 3, col. 2263.

[2] Ibid., Vita, i. lib. v. cap. 2, coll. 2258–2260.

sioned devotion sought to infuse the mother's spirit with mother's milk into his veins,— and I see, with mingled admiration and awe, that that devout woman, who died in Burgundy almost eight hundred years ago, has modified since the world's civilization; that the touch of her spirit, ethereal and immortal, is on your hearts and mine to-night!

LECTURE IV.

BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX: IN HIS MONASTIC LIFE.

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No institution exists for centuries, and continues to attract the reverent regard of many of the best and most cultured of the time, which has not a foundation in wide and wholesome human tendencies, or which does not minister, more or less successfully, to recognized moral needs of mankind. It may be that something else will come, after a time, to take the place and fulfil the office for which at last it is found unsuited. But while it continues, and where it continues, it may safely be assumed that men had found reason to desire and value it, and that they received distinct benefits from it. The ark described in the Biblical story could not do the work of a swift modern steamship; but in its time, according to the narrative, it had its use and served its purpose, by saving the race from the whelming flood.

Something of this general tenor may be said, I am sure, of that system of monastic life which had begun in the East, but which prevailed in Europe so largely and so long, and which still retains a definite place where once it had general prominence. It has been, perhaps, a common impression with Protestant peoples that the system operated only disastrously upon those who main-

tained it, especially upon those whom it gathered into convents, and whose mind and character it immediately affected; that it absorbed into itself forces which should have been generously devoted to public advancement; and that it wrought with constant tendency, not so much to educate or uplift the spirit as to pervert and demoralize it, in the men and women assembled in its homes,— making them selfish, sour, fanatical, disdainful of enterprise and of domesticity, too often inciting them to a destroying sensual indulgence. Undoubtedly there are facts in both the earlier and the later history of the system to suggest this impression, if not wholly to sustain it; like those which were appealed to in the time of Henry Eighth, to justify his suppression of the monasteries,— a suppression which would hardly have been possible, even for kingly power, in the midst of communities prevailingly Roman Catholic, if a popular belief in the moral decadence of the suspended institutions had not made the way easy;[1] or like those facts which are philosophically grouped by Mr. Lecky, in his "History of European Morals."[2] I am certainly

[1] See "Camden Society Publications," vol. xxvi., on "Suppression of Monasteries;" also Strype's "Memorials of Cranmer," vol. i. chap. 9; Fuller, "Church History," book vi. sec. 3. A sufficient account of the matter is given by Froude, in his "History of England," vol. ii. pp. 396–435.

The "Black Book" presented by the Commissioners to Parliament is said not now to be in existence, but the contents of it are substantially known. In the preceding reign the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal Merton, had instituted a similar visitation of monasteries in the neighborhood of London, and the description there given of the Abbey of St. Albans is said to represent all the evils which were subsequently discovered.

Erasmus certainly knew the monks well, having been one of them; and in the "Praise of Folly," the "Colloquies," the "Adagia," he indicates frequently and clearly the lazy vices by which his conservative scholarly mind was sharply offended.

[2] Vol. ii. pp. 107–153. New York ed. 1876.

not here to defend the system against any charges for which proof may be supplied; least of all, to advocate any re-establishment of it, in our land or in others. On the other hand, I gladly see that the influences of the modern civilization work constantly against it, and that wherever it still exists its existence is almost like that of an iceberg which has floated down from the original glacier, and which, however it still may tower above the level expanse of waters, is being silently consumed by the warm and swift currents which envelop its base. However it may check, it cannot change those dissolving tides.

But we are not now to regard the plan of monastic life in its relation to modern times, or in the fruits which it showed when the ripeness of the system had turned to rottenness. We are to look at it in its particular relation to the times of Bernard, and to the desire which such as he felt for something to minister to the high aspiration of an eager and a profound spiritual mind. So regarding it, we shall see, I think, why it was that it flourished so long and extended so far; and how it was that with his character, amid the circumstances in which he was placed, he was so strongly attracted and attached to it.

If only in justice to him, its long and its often splendid history in the centuries preceding his should be recalled by us, and the powerful moral impulse which early and widely prompted to it should be distinctly before our view. Let us not forget, then, that the tendency toward a solitary life, detached from affairs, and largely passed in ascetic exercise, in prayer and contemplation, had appeared in the world, and in heathen societies, before Christianity began to be preached. In the time of the Master it was clearly exhibited among

the Hebrews, in the sect of the Essenes. But it had shown itself ages before, in Egypt and in India, in central Asia and in China. It is not impossible that India was the birth-place of monachism.[1] Certainly both its great religions were penetrated to the centre by this spirit, and the laws of Menu are occupied to an important extent with regulations concerning the ascetic life. The Buddhist monasteries of to-day present a parallel so strangely close to those existing in Roman Catholic countries that travellers find it hard to believe that the one system or the other has not borrowed from its counterpart. Astonished Romanists have sometimes suspected that the Buddhist monasteries, in Thibet or Tartary, for example, had been anticipative diabolical counterfeits of the Christian institutions which were later to appear.[2] A resemblance so close, continuing

[1] Hardwick, Christ and Other Masters, p. 245. London ed. 1882.

[2] The Abbé Huc was amazed at the resemblances between the ceremonial of his own church and that of Buddhism, though he sought to explain them by the hypothesis that the Buddhists must have borrowed from the Catholics.

"The cross, the mitre, the dalmatica, the cope, which the Grand Lamas wear on their journeys, or when they are performing some ceremony out of the temple; the service with double choirs, the psalmody, the exorcisms; the censer suspended from five chains, and which you can open or close at pleasure; the benedictions given by the Lamas by extending the right hand over the heads of the faithful; the chaplet, ecclesiastical celibacy, spiritual retirement, the worship of the saints, the fasts, the processions, the litanies, the holy water, — all these are analogies between the Buddhists and ourselves. Can it be said that these analogies are of Christian origin? We think so." Yet he admits that neither in the monuments of the country, nor in its traditions, has he found any proof of their importation, — that the theory rests upon conjecture only. — *Travels in Tartary, Thibet, and China*, p. 322. London ed., 1856.

To the list given by Huc many other striking particulars may be added, according to the testimony of observant travellers; for example, the tonsure of priests, rosaries of coral and amber, the lighted lamps in churches, pictures and images, especially of the "Queen of Heaven" with a child in

so long, between institutions so widely separated, and belonging to religions in such contrast with each other, is one of the remarkable facts in history; and it shows, as I think, a strong and constant moral tendency in the spiritual nature of man, when deeply stirred and conscientiously impressed, toward those forms of activity which the convent offers. There must be something there for which the heart hungers, in certain moods, with a desire that cannot or could not be elsewhere satisfied.

Very early after Christianity was preached these tendencies appeared, as we know, on different sides, and with vast power. There had long been congregations of monks connected with certain Egyptian temples; and when Paul of Thebes, "the first hermit," with Saint Anthony appeared there, in the latter part of the third century, the Coptic atmosphere already favored them, and their example was rapidly followed. A century later Sozomen says that the disciples of Anthony were not only in Egypt, but in Palestine, — where they had been introduced by Hilarion,—in Syria, Arabia, and North Africa. He speaks of one ascetic leader having three thousand disciples; of another who had a thousand; of two thousand monks in the neighborhood of Alexandria; of fifty convents in the district of Nitria.[1] The mountains and the deserts appear to have been full of them: and it is probably not an ex-

her arms, extreme unction, prayers for the dead, fasts and penances, confession to priests, the consecration of bishops, a general hierarchy, etc., etc.

The Jesuit Grueber had early set forth what seemed to him the just explanation: "Thus hath the Devil, through his innate malignity, transferred to the worship of this people [of Thibet] that veneration which is due only to the Pope of Rome, Christ's Vicar, in the same manner as he hath done all the other mysteries of the Christian Religion." See Pinkerton's "Voyages and Travels," vol. vii. p. 558. London ed. 1811.

[1] Eccl. Hist., lib. i. cap. 13; lib. vi. caps. 28, 29, 31.

travagant computation which reckons that at the end of the fourth century, or early in the fifth, there were of all classes of monks nearly or quite one hundred thousand in Egypt alone; of whose courage, patience, humility, charity, as well as of their silence, their abstinence from food, and their persistent aversion to baths, the most surprising stories were current.

The early anchorets, living in solitude, after a while gave place to the cenobites, seeking the same ends, but dwelling in communities. Jerome, Athanasius, Basil the Great, John Chrysostom, grandest of preachers and a true hero and martyr, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, with other eminent leaders in the Church, became the eloquent advocates of the system. It was introduced into Italy, probably by Athanasius, at about the middle of the fourth century, and was speedily established in the capital and its neighborhood, and throughout the peninsula. Augustine and Ambrose became its advocates. Martin of Tours introduced it into Gaul. It appeared ere long in Burgundy, in Spain, along the banks of the Danube, in the valleys of Wales, and in Ireland. The wealthy and the famous as well as the poor were enrolled in the monasteries; and early in the sixth century the rule of Benedict was formulated for his great convent of Monte Cassino, which rule became afterward a governing law for distributed local convents, and a bond of union among them.

With the practical organizing genius of the West thus moulding the system, restraining the abuses which were already connected with it, and aiding to secure its higher ends, it took more rapid and extensive development, and became an immense power in Europe. Some of the monasteries matured into great mis-

sionary centres: others were early recognized as homes of knowledge and literature, and others still of practical arts. Those at the head of them were often celebrated men, having vast influence in their hands. Princes and kings were gladly numbered among the lay brothers. Some of them, indeed, fully entered the convents; and men of the highest rank and repute were found serving faithfully in kitchen or mill, cutting faggots, gathering crops, or delighting to drive the pigs to the field.[1] William First, Duke of Normandy, had desired to leave everything of the world, and to retire to the Abbey of Jumièges, but the abbot would not permit it. Hugh First of Burgundy had eagerly done the same thing at Clugni, as I have before said. Henry Second, Emperor of Germany, at the Abbey church of St. Anne, at Verdun, had cried with the Psalmist, "This is the rest which I have chosen, and shall be my habitation forever." A monk who heard it apprised the abbot, who thereupon called the emperor before him and asked his intentions. Finding him determined to become a monk, the abbot took from him a promise of obedience unto death, according to the rule of the order, and then said, "Well, I receive you as a monk, and take the care of your soul from this day forward; what I order I charge you to perform, in the fear of the Lord. Now return to the government of the empire which the Lord has entrusted to you, and watch with fear and trembling, with all your might, over the welfare of the kingdom." The

[1] "Quanto nobiliores erant in sæculo, tanto se contemtibilioribus officiis occupari desiderant, ut qui quondam erant comites vel marchiones in sæculo nunc in coquina, vel pistrinis fratribus servire, vel porcos eorum in campo pascere, pro summis deliciis computent." [An. 1083.] See Neander, Hist. of the Church, vol. iv. p. 233, note.

emperor obeyed with regret, as being bound by his vow; he lived thereafter a truly monastic life on the throne, and was subsequently honored by the Church as a saint.[1] Down to the time of the Reformation in the sixteenth century, the monastic establishments both for men and for women continued numerous and powerful, though many certainly had fearfully fallen from the early ideal, and some had become unspeakably corrupt. They have never since regained their attractiveness for the best minds; and with the changed conditions of society it is quite certain that they will not. But that for centuries they had such place and power in the world is a significant and memorable fact, which we may not forget in studying the personal career of Bernard.

At the beginning of the twelfth century, when his active life commenced, these monastic institutions were rising to the height of their usefulness and their fame. The vow of celibacy detached men from the more intimate relationships of life; the vow of poverty made worldly possessions unlawful to them; the vow of obedience had a tendency at least to conquer self-will, and to form the habit of submitting the life to a common and careful ethical regulation. Whoever, then, desired to have the soul infused and pervaded by the Divine life, was naturally allured to these retreats. Whoever would have the spiritual sensibility stimulated and trained, till visions became familiar, till the line of horizon between life on earth and life on high became impalpable to the bright expectation, till the soul amid the circles of time felt itself already affined to eternity, was drawn to the convent, to climb with others the steep path of celestial virtue. With such came, too, those who desired a fairer knowledge of human things, or

[1] Michelet, Hist. de France, tom. ii. pp. 139, 140.

who only sought for a tranquil and an orderly life amid the tumultuous turmoil of the times, wishing to find such friendly association with others of their kind as there seemed no room for anywhere else. With these came also, and in large numbers, the weak, the poor, the timid, and the persecuted, who sought safe refuge among the monks. The convent confronted the feudal castle, and it sheltered those whom the other despoiled. Noble women entered nunneries to protect their chastity; as the Princess Matilda, afterward wife of Henry First of England, known in history as "the good queen Maude," entered the nunnery at Romsey in her youth to escape the licentious pursuit of Norman nobles.[1]

There had been a vast revival of the spirit, and a restoration of the stricter forms, of monastic life in the preceding century. It had felt, of course, the powerful impulse given to all Church development by Gregory Seventh. New orders of monks had been established, old institutions had come to fresh prominence and were breaking forth into new exhibitions of zeal and fervor. Great memories consecrated some of the abbeys. The monks had been largely the civilizers of Europe. Accustomed to labor, inured to hardship, contemptuous of death, living in caves or birchen huts, with patient and undaunted toil they had widely subdued the savage country, covered with forests, stained with great tracts of desert land, sterile with bogs and drowned with swamps, where the elk and the buffalo, the bear and the wolf, were not so fierce as the savage men who roamed and fought beneath the shades. More than once the monastery had become the nucleus of the city. It was the centre of civilized industry, as well as the

[1] Matilda to Anselm (Eadmer, "Hist. Novor." lib. iii.): "Servandi corporis mei causa contra furentem Normanorum libidinem."

symbol of moral aspiration, in an age of general confusion and strife. It had maintained the unending struggle against cruelty in high places, and had borne aloft the Christian doctrine that society is bound to protect the weak. It exalted before men the solemn thought of their relation to each other, through their common relation to God and the Hereafter; and so it contributed, with an essential and an inestimable force, to ennoble society.

Inspiriting legends gave their lustre to some of the abbeys, coming from the spring-time of monastic life upon the rugged and battle-swept Gaul: of Launomar, whose voice had stopped wolves in their course, and delivered their prey; of Saint Léonor, to whom, in his urgent need of grain, a little white bird had brought grains of wheat, showing him where it had been planted; of Saint Imier, who had heard at midnight in his lonely hermitage the future bells of his monastery ringing, and had followed the mysterious signal to the fountain in the Jura which still keeps his name; of Théodulph of Saint Thierry, of illustrious birth, who had been ploughman for his monastery for twenty years, and whose rude plough, after he became abbot, had been hung in the church of a neighboring village as a sacred memorial.[1]

In Burgundy particularly, in Bernard's time, the monastic establishments were multiplying in number, and had peculiar favor with the people. The abbey of St. Benignus at Dijon, whose abbot proposed the oath to the Duke on his accession, giving him also the robe and ring and ducal crown, and that of Clugni, near Mâcon, were the most conspicuous. That of Citeaux,

[1] For these and other legends, see Montalembert's "Monks of the West," lib. vi., especially vol. ii. pp. 350, 324, 368, 378, et al.

near Châlons, a dozen miles from Dijon, was at this time poor and undistinguished; but so many offshoots subsequently sprang from it that a few centuries later the abbot of Citeaux was recognized as their superior by more than three thousand affiliated monasteries, in various countries.[1] In the childhood of Bernard the Duke of Burgundy, the feudal lord of the family, had prayed in the oratory of the then mean and obscure monastery, and had built for himself a house near it; and when he died, far from home, on a journey to Jerusalem, his last wish had been that his body might be brought thither, and laid to rest in its common place of sleep. There, therefore, his dust reposed, while the thunders of war resounded in the land, and the monks in their seclusion prayed for the soul of their dead benefactor.

When Bernard, after the death of his mother, had decisively turned from every other career, — of arms, of courts, of letters, or of Church-preferment, — to enter the distinctively religious life, he turned naturally, with a really irresistible impulse, toward the convent and its austere regulation; and with his intense moral earnestness he turned to that form of cloister-life which was most signally strict and severe, in sharpest contrast not only with the world and its ambitions, but with the offensive secular temper prevailing widely throughout the Church. Drawing around him, in the enthusiasm of a common purpose, not only his brothers and other relatives, as I have said, but others whom he had known and over whom his spirit had power, — the cultivated and noble as well as the humbler, — he went on to prepare

[1] Son abbé, l'abbé des abbés, était reconnu pour chef d'ordre, en 1491, par trois mille deux cent cinquante-deux monastères. — MICHELET, *Hist. de France*, tom. ii. p. 93.

himself and them for monastic life. His moving eloquence, and his singular ascendency over men's minds, were as evident at first as perhaps they ever were afterward. A flash of conviction struck many souls, we are told, as he spoke of the fugitive joys of the world, of the many miseries of life on earth, of quick-coming death, and of the life beyond the grave, which, whether for the good or the evil, should be eternal. The high-born and the accomplished heard him, as well as those of the commoner sort, with new emotions stirring in their hearts; and so startling was the impression of his discourses that mothers withdrew their sons from his reach, wives kept their husbands from hearing him, and friends diverted the attention of their friends, lest the too persuasive voice should carry them with him in spite of all counter-attractions.[1] Retiring after a little, with the group of his devoted companions, to Châtillon, where before he had pursued secular studies, Bernard determined to put to the test the sincerity and steadiness of their purpose, and of his own, and to finish there the preparation for final entrance into the convent. After six months had so been passed, and all their business relations in the world had been closed,[2]

[1] Cœpit novum induere hominem, et cum quibus de literis sæculi, seu de sæculo ipso agere solebat, de seriis et conversione tractare; ostendens gaudia mundi fugitiva, vitæ miserias, celerem mortem, vitam post mortem, seu in bonis, seu in malis, perpetuam fore. Quid multa? Quotquot ad hoc præordinati erant, operante in eis gratia Dei, et verbo virtutis ejus, et oratione et instantia servi ejus, primo cunctati, deinde compuncti, alter post alterum credebant et consentiebant. . . . Jamque eo publice et privatim prædicante, matres filios abscondebant, uxores detinebant maritos, amici amicos avertebant: quia voci ejus Spiritus sanctus tantæ dabat vocem virtutis, ut vix aliquis aliquem teneret affectus. — *Opera*, vol. sec., Vita, i. cap. iii. coll. 2101–2102.

[2] Ipsi vero quasi mensibus sex post primum propositum in sæculari habitu stabant, ut proinde plures congregarentur, dum quorumdam negotia per id temporis expediebantur. — *Ibid.*, Vita, i. cap. 3, col. 2103.

they applied for admission and were received at the monastery of Citeaux, the company numbering more than thirty, and its animating leader being but twenty-two years of age.

In all external things the convent at Citeaux was at that time far less attractive than the great and famous abbey of Clugni, not remote from it. That wealthy and venerable establishment, founded already for two centuries, was the greatest of the Burgundian abbeys, and had a repute in Europe second only to that of the monastery established by Benedict himself on Monte Cassino. Hildebrand, as I have said, had gone from it on his way to the papacy; so had Urban Second, Paschal Second, among his successors. It could entertain a pope, a king, princes, with their suites of attendants, without inconvenience.[1] Its abbot was really a prince in the realm, and had the power of coining money to be used in his domains. Soon after this, he became by favor of the Pope, Calixtus Second, a permanent prince cardinal in the Church, and was endowed with other exceptional privileges. Several of the distinguished Cluniac abbots had been canonized; and the institution seemed only approaching at that time the extraordinary height of its power and fame. Its magnificent Abbey-church, which had been begun A.D. 1089, and which was consecrated by Innocent Second, A.D. 1131, was then, of course, far on the way toward that completion which made it subsequently the vastest church ever built in France, covering seventy thousand square feet, while also the most distinguished for its

[1] Telle était la splendeur de ces monastères, que Cluny reçut une fois le pape, le roi de France, et je ne sais combien de princes avec leur suite, sans que les moines se dérangeassent. — MICHELET: *Hist. de France*, tom. ii. p. 92.

massive magnificence.[1] When at last this church, after standing seven hundred years, became the prey of a frantic revolutionary violence, it took years to destroy it; and when the great tower was finally overthrown, in A.D. 1811, within the memory of living men, the neighboring country heard and felt the tremendous shock.

To this abbey, rich and renowned, opening an easy way to the highest Church-dignities, and in which a liberal interpretation of the rule of Benedict was familiar, Bernard and his companions might have gone, to be at once welcomed and honored. He chose instead of it the recent, weak, and uninviting monastery of Citeaux, only founded when he was a lad of seven years [A.D. 1098], but already languishing in its youth by reason of the exceptional strictness of its regimen. Few converts were allured to a discipline so severe. The number of the monks constantly decreased; a fatal disease had recently sadly thinned their number, and it seemed as if the existence of the convent was approaching its end.[2] But to this comparatively bare, bleak, and desolate establishment, with the shadow of death hanging over it, Bernard drew his companions with him; and into it they were solemnly received, at first for the year of their novitiate, and afterward on their final profession.

[1] See Fergusson's "Handbook of Architecture," pp. 651, 652. London ed. 1859.

[2] Eo tempore novellus et pusillus grex Cisterciencis sub abbate degens, viro venerabili Stephano, cum jam graviter ei tædio esse inciperet paucitas sua, et omnis spes posteritatis decideret, in quam sanctæ illius pauperitatis hæredilas transfunderetur, venerantibus omnibus in eis vitæ sanctitatem, sed refugientibus austeritatem; repente divina hac visitatione tam læta, tam insperata, tam subita lætificatus est, ut in die illa responsum hoc a Spiritu sancto accepisse sibi domus illa videretur: "Lætare, sterilis quæ non pariebas," etc. — *Opera*, Vita, i. cap. 3, col. 2104.

Here he found all that could be desired in the way of an austere regulation of life. It was a reformed and a Puritan monastery. It is reported, I believe, of Horace Walpole, that when asked why he did not become a Roman Catholic, his reply was that "it would give him too much to swallow, and too little to eat." The monks at Citeaux felt neither difficulty. The less they ate, and the more they absorbed of what to them was Divine doctrine, the more nearly they felt themselves fulfilling their purpose, and approaching the heavens. One meal a day, usually at about noon, without meat, fish, or eggs, commonly without milk, with a slight supper of fruit or herbs; an utter poverty of dress, such as had been common in imperial days for the Italian serf working on farms, from whom indeed it had been copied; nothing except assiduous labor to interrupt the succession of prayer, song, meditation, reading, writing, prayer, which began with matins at earliest morning, and ended with compline, at eight or after on the following evening,— this was the rule of life at Citeaux; sufficiently exacting and rigorous, it would seem, to satisfy any possible wish for release from luxury, and severance from the world.

Yet even this austere rule did not wholly content Bernard. All time given to sleep he regarded as wasted, counting the sleeping as for the time practically dead; and though he was not able to pass the entire night in wakefulness, he certainly came as near it as is possible to man.[1] Through his excessive ab-

[1] Quid enim dicam de somno, qui in cæteris hominibus solet esse refectio laborum et sensuum, aut mentium recreatio? Extunc usque hodie vigilat ultra possibilitatem humanam. Nullum enim tempus magis se perdere conqueri solet, quam quo dormit, idoneam satis reputans comparationem mortis et somni: ut sic dormientes videantur mortui apud

stinence from food he lost all relish for it, almost all power of assimilating it, and made himself the infirm invalid that he continued to be through life. When he could not, by reason of physical feebleness, do the common work of the monastery, he took the most menial offices upon him, to make up for the lack of more vigorous service.[1] In all physical self-discipline his aim was not merely to conquer the desires of the flesh but the senses themselves, through which desire might be awakened; practically, to "keep under the body" by suspending its functions. Naturally, therefore, he came after a time into that state of mind, — abstracted, pre-occupied, unrelated to sensible things, almost vitally detached from the body, — in which seeing he saw not, hearing he heard not; three windows in the room were the same to him as one, and of anything external which happened to him his memory retained no impression.[2] But prayer and meditation were his solace and support, while nature retained, as I have said, her fine and animating charm for his soul.

At the end of a year he made his final profession as a monk, in the customary solemn service; and little more than a year after, A.D. 1115, he was himself sent out as

homines, quomodo apud Deum mortui dormientes. . . . Quantum enim ad vigilias, vigiliarum ei modus est non totam noctem ducere insomnem. — *Opera*, vol. sec., Vita, i. cap. 4, col. 2107.

[1] Fodiendo, seu ligna cædendo, propriis humeris deportando, vel quibuslibet laboribus æque laboriosis illud redimebat. Ubi vero vires deficiebant, ad viliora quæque opera confugiens, laborem humilitate compensabat. — *Opera*, Vita, i. cap. 4, col. 2108.

[2] In nullo sibi parcens, instabat omnimodis mortificare non solum concupiscentias carnis, quæ per sensus corporis fiunt, sed et sensus ipsos per quos fiunt. . . . Totusque absorptus in spiritum, spe tota in Deum directa, intentione seu meditatione spirituali tota occupata memoria, videns non videbat, audiens non audiebat; nihil sapiebat gustanti, vix aliquid sensu aliquo corporis sentiebat. — *Opera*, Vita, i. cap. 4, col. 2106.

abbot, at the age of twenty-four, with twelve monks in his company, to found a new monastery. His coming with many companions to Citeaux had given vast impulse to that then weak and wasted establishment. More applicants had been drawn to it than it could accommodate, and two colonies had already been sent forth: one to establish the abbey of Ferté, near Châlons; another, under Hugh of Mâcon, an early friend of Bernard, to found an abbey at Pontigny. Now went the third, with himself for their young leader. The twelve represented the twelve Apostles, while Bernard at the head, bearing the cross, and leading in a solemn chant, was to them in the place of the Master. It strikingly illustrates the impression made upon his associates by his fine and strong qualities, with his power of leadership, and the perfect confidence which all reposed in him, that at so early an age he should have been decisively set apart for an office and a work so important and so difficult. But certainly the result justified the selection.

Leaving the lamenting monks of Citeaux, and going northward over the broken and hilly country to the distance of nearly a hundred miles, passing Dijon, where his mother lay buried, and Fontaines, where his childhood had been passed, and Châtillon, where the studies of youth had engaged him, he came with his companions to a deep valley, eight miles in length by three in breadth, opening toward the east, covered with forests, with a stream of rapid water, the river Aube, running through it. This valley had been granted to the abbey of Citeaux by Hugh, a knight of Champagne, for the site of a monastery. It was a wild and desolate place, having borne the name at an earlier time of "The Valley of Wormwood," from the abundance of the bitter

plant growing in it, and having made the name morally appropriate by the shelter which it had offered to bands of robbers. It has been often and naturally supposed that it took the new and illustrious name of Clara Vallis, or Clairvaux, from the founding of the abbey by Bernard, with the local changes subsequently wrought. This might easily have been; but the valley seems to have gained its new name before he saw it, and on the whole to have fairly deserved it.

Two ranges of hills, of about equal height, approached each other at the west, where the abbey was built, but were separated more widely toward the east, to enclose a broad area of what afterward became fields and meadows, through which flowed the river. The morning sun shone full on the valley, in all its extent; while still in the late afternoon, though the abbey itself might be in shadow, the hills on either side, northward or southward, received the sunshine, and kept the air full of its beauty until the sun had passed the horizon. After long and skilful labor had been expended by the monks on both uplands and meadow, cutting, digging, subduing the soil, planting, reaping, and dividing the stream into artificial rivulets for better irrigation, the place came to be to all who saw it one of singular, placid beauty. On the hills on one side of the abbey were then vineyards, on the other side fruit-orchards; a branch of the river was made to run beneath the walls of the abbey, and to turn the wheel for the tannery and the mills; toward the east were gardens, orchards, meadows, and a fish-pond; on the west a fountain of the sweetest sparkling water,—the whole making a scene so full of rural richness and charm that they who had dwelt in it, and by their labor had contributed to transform it, could almost never willingly be separated

from it.[1] But this result was only reached after years of hardship, of patient endurance and strenuous toil; and the early life there was enough to make even the enemies of the monks, if such there were, silent if not sad with compassionate sympathy.

It was in June that they had left Citeaux, and probably not less than two weeks had been occupied in the journey, accomplished on foot, by men bearing burdens. They reached the valley too late, therefore, while they also found it too densely wooded, to allow the hope of a speedy harvest from seed then sown. Their first work must be the erection of a rude house for themselves, in which chapel, refectory, dormitory, workshop were under one roof, with a floor of earth, wooden boxes for beds, and logs for pillows. This was not finished till autumn; and then they had the work before them, which the earlier monks had done elsewhere, of removing the forest, subduing the wilderness, draining the marsh, planting the fields, and in some way wresting from reluctant nature clothing and food. Gregory the Great had said, five hundred years earlier, that to live in indolence was to rest the head on soft earth, not on a stone, and so to see no angels; that laziness was the breeder of impure thought; and that the active and the contemplative life were like the two eyes, needing to be joined as these are in the face.[2]

[1] Multum habet locus ille amœnitatis, multum quod mentes fessas allevet, luctusque solvat anxios, multum quod quærentes Dominum ad devotionem accendat, et supernæ dulcedinis ad quam suspiramus admoneat, dum ridens terræ facies multiplici colore, vernanti pictura oculos pascit, et suaveolentem naribus spirat odorem. — *Descriptio Clarœ Vallis, Opera*, vol. sec., col. 2532.

The entire description from which this sentence is taken, and from which the description in the Lecture is compressed, is vivid and picturesque, written with the charming glow of a probably unconscious enthusiasm.

[2] Sunt namque nonnulli, qui mundi quidem actiones fugiunt, sed nullis

Certainly the associates of Bernard had every chance to exercise and educate what Gregory regarded as the left eye. To root out the ancient brushwood, and collect it in bundles for burning, to extirpate the dense and stiff brambles and expose them on favorable places to the fires of the sun, to eradicate thorn-bushes, to tear up and destroy the shoots and suckers which hindered the free growth of the trees to be preserved, — these were always a part of their labor, and at first composed nearly the whole of it.[1] The privations which they suffered while performing such labor nearly pass the bounds of belief. Their food in the summer had been a coarse bread of barley and millet, partially cooked, with a relish of beech-leaves steeped in water, and bits of vetch. Beech-nuts and roots of herbs must furnish food for the winter.[2] Salt wholly failed; and Bernard's faith in

virtutibus exercentur. Hi nimirum torpore, non studio dormiunt; et idcirco interna non conspiciunt, quia caput non in lapide sed in terra posuerunt. Quibus plerumque contingit, ut quanto securiùs ab externis actionibus cessant, tanto latiùs in se immundæ cogitationis strepitum per otium congerant. . . . Duæ quippe vitæ, activa videlicet et contemplativa, cum conservantur in mente, quasi duo oculi habentur in facie. Dexter namque oculus vita contemplativa est, sinister activa. . . . Hos itaque contemplativa vita ultra vires assumta, cogit a veritate cadere, quos in statu suæ rectitudinis humiliter poterat sola activa custodire. — S. GREG.: *Opera, Moral.*, lib. v., vi., coll. 163, 208.

[1] "Ramale vetus colligere, et colligare fasciculos ad comburendum; squalentes exstirpare dumos, et solis aptos ignibus aptare, erudcrare sentes, evellere, destruere, disperdere spuria vitulamina, quæ crescentium arborum vel ligant ramos, vel radices suffodiunt, ne impediatur rigida quercus sublimi salutare sidera vertice," etc. — *Opera, Descriptio*, etc., vol. sec., col. 2529.

In the later time when the description was written this labor is called "amœnus quidem et quiete jocundior;" but at first it must have been as tough and difficult as it was constant.

[2] "Pulmentaria sæpius ex foliis fagi conficiebantur. Panis instar prophetici illius ex hordeo et milio et vicia erat." It was held almost for a miracle "quod inde viverent homines, et tales homines." (Vita, i. cap. 6, col. 2418.) "Tantum in primis qui ibi fuerant congregati, passi sunt penu-

God found an expression in connection with this, which was lovingly remembered. He bade a monk go on the market-day and buy some salt, at a village not distant, admitting at the same time that he had no money with which to pay for it. To the monk's remonstrance that if he went empty-handed he should return in like condition, the abbot replied, "Be not afraid; He who has the treasure will be with thee, and will supply the things for which I send." When the incredulous monk returned, having obtained in an unforeseen way much more than he had gone for, Bernard only said to him, "I tell thee, my son, that nothing is so necessary to a Christian man as faith. Have faith, and it will be well with thee all the days of thy life." [1] I do not find that in his own life he ever for long contradicted or forgot the pious maxim.

The distress, however, returned and continued, becoming if possible yet more severe; till, driven by cold, hunger, and fear, the monks had almost determined to give up what seemed a hopeless enterprise, and return to Citeaux, where at least the means of maintaining life could be commanded. Then Bernard kneeled and prayed, till he felt that a voice from heaven had answered him; and to their question what he had prayed for, he simply answered, "Remain as you are, and you shall know." Shortly a stranger coming to the abbey brought him ten livres, with which the immediate want was supplied. Another, whose son was desperately sick, brought him thirteen livres, seek-

riam, ut cibus eorum esset panis, non de avena (pretiosum namque tale edulium reputarent), sed de mistura qualicumque multo viliori, imo vilissima, utcumque conglobatus potius quam confectus. Folia quoque arborum cocta in æstate pro pulmentis habebant; in hieme vero, radices herbarum." — *Opera*, Vita, iv. lib. ii. col. 2497.

[1] Vita, iv. lib. ii. coll. 2498–2499.

ing his sympathy for the lad. The monks of a neighboring convent heard of the distress, and its abbot sent to Clairvaux considerable supplies. As time advanced, too, the ground began, however reluctantly, to yield its fruit, and absolute starvation was no more to be apprehended. The convent was fairly started on its career; and, as the ancient chronicler says, 'God so regarded them in His mercy that nothing was wanting to them either of temporal or eternal aid; according to the promise that they who fear the Lord shall not want any good thing.'[1]

In the absence of the Bishop of Langres, within whose diocese the convent lay, Bernard was consecrated abbot, A.D. 1116, by the Bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, better known in history as the famous lecturer, William of Champeaux, who became his wise and ardent friend, and who, as I said in the preceding lecture, ingeniously contrived to save his life by withdrawing him for a year from all personal care of the abbey, and confining him to a hut beyond the enclosure. He never recovered from the effects of his early severity in self-discipline; but from the time when he left this hut he was able, largely through the extraordinary power which his spirit exercised over his body, to do his prodigious work in the world. The abbey became always larger in numbers, wider in influence; ampler buildings were after a time erected for it, on a local site better selected than the first had been; colonies went from it in large numbers, an average of more than four in each year, into different countries; its fame for holiness, wisdom, and the highest exhibition of the virtue and grace of monastic life, rapidly filled Christian Europe.

The rule of Benedict was strictly observed in it

[1] Vita, iv. lib. ii. coll. 2498–2501.

during the lifetime of Bernard, and as long as his influence remained dominant there. According to this, the abbot, though elected by the monks, afterward represented among them the Divine Master, and to him was to be rendered respect, veneration, and immediate obedience. Among things insisted on, these were prominent: no sensuality, no idle or jesting words, humility, patience under injuries, contentment with meanest goods or employments, constancy in religious service, regularity in labor. For offences, admonition was provided; for worse offences, chastisement; for the incorrigible, expulsion. Of course no personal property was permitted. Each of the monks served in his turn in the kitchen, or at the table. Meals were to be eaten in silence, but acccompanied with the reading of Scripture. A spiritual lecture was to be given each night, before compline; after compline, silence reigned. In summer, work was required from prime till ten o'clock; from ten to twelve readings, refection, and perhaps rest; after nones, labor again till even-song. In the winter the hours differed somewhat, and the out-door work was limited or suspended; but the succession of work, reading, and prayer continued. Certain allowances were made for the aged; and the use of baths, with a meat diet, was permitted to the sick. In Lent particular carefulness was enjoined; and on Sundays, when not engaged in the services of the Church, all were expected to be occupied in reading, except the illiterate or the weak-minded, for whom other forms of occupation were arranged.

This was practically the rule at Clairvaux, as it was nominally at nearly all the monasteries in Europe.[1] In

[1] S. P. Benedicti Regula, cum Comm. Patrol. Lat., tom. lxvi. coll. 215–932. For Bernard's strictness in observing it see *Opera*, vol. prim. col. 804,

many, no doubt, as at the wealthy and famous Clugni, it had been greatly relaxed; and Bernard wrote some of his sharpest words in describing and denouncing the luxury which had come in place of the early abstinence and carefulness. "It is declared," he said, "and verily believed, that holy Fathers instituted this way of life, and that in it many have been saved; the rigor of the rule being tempered to the weak, while the rule itself has not been subverted. Far was it from those who established it, as I believe, either to command or consent to so many vanities and superfluities as I now see in many convents. I marvel how such intemperance has been able to get itself established among monks; in revellings, garments, couches, horse-exercise, and the construction of buildings. Behold! economy is now held to be avarice; sobriety, austerity; and silence is considered equivalent to sadness. On the other hand, laziness is called discretion, profusion liberality, loquacity affability, laughter joyfulness, softness of clothing and trappings of horses are called dignity, the superfluous carefulness of readers elegance. . . . Nothing is done about the Scriptures, nothing for the salvation of souls; but trifles, and jests, and light words are thrown upon the air. At dinner the jaws are as much occupied with dainties as the ears are with nonsense, and, wholly intent upon eating, you know no moderation in it. Dishes follow dishes, and in place of the meats from which abstinence is required, the great fishes are doubled in number. When you reach the second course, after being satiated with the first, you appear to yourselves to have tasted nothing. All things are

epist. cdlxxviii. [of Fastredus]. An ample analysis of the celebrated Rule is given by Montalembert, "Monks of the West," vol. ii. pp. 41–62. It has been published in English and Latin, in London, 1875.

prepared with such care and artifice of cooks, that when four or five dishes have been disposed of, the first in no way interfere with the last, nor does satiety diminish appetite. . . . Who can describe in how many ways the very eggs are tossed and tormented, with what eager care they are turned under and over, made soft and made hard, beaten up, fried, roasted, stuffed, now served minced with other things, and now by themselves! The very external appearance of the things is cared for, so that the eye may be charmed as well as the palate; and when the stomach, by frequent eructation, shows itself full, the curiosity is still not satisfied. . . . As to water, what can I say when no one takes water, even mixed with wine. As soon as we become monks we all have infirm stomachs, and do not neglect the needed injunction of the Apostle about taking wine, — only, I know not on what ground, omitting the 'little' which his precept contains. Would that even with this we were content, when the wine is pure! It shames me to say it, but it is a greater shame to have it done; and if it shames you to hear it, it will not shame you to amend it. You may see at one dinner three or four half-filled cups carried about, of wines rather smelled than tasted, or if tasted not fully drunk, that with quick discernment the strongest of all may be selected. On festival days some monks are said to observe the custom of having wines mixed with honey, and powdered with dust of colored spices. Shall we say that this is done for infirmity of the stomach? . . . So clothing is sought, not for usefulness, but with respect to its fineness, — not to keep out the cold, but to minister to pride. . . . Our customary dress, which, I say it with grief, used to be a sign of humility, is worn by the monks of our time as a sign of haughtiness. We can

hardly find in the provinces what we will condescend to wear. The soldier and the monk divide between them the same cloth, for hood and tunic; and nobody in the secular world, though he were the King himself, though he were the Emperor, would disdain to be robed in our garments, if after the fashion proper to him they were fitted and prepared. But you say, perhaps, that religion is in the heart, not in the garment. Very well! But . . . out of the treasure of the heart without doubt proceeds whatever shows itself in outward vice. A vain heart gives the mark of vanity to the body, and the exterior luxury becomes the index of the vainness of the mind. Soft raiment shows effeminacy of soul. We should not so trouble ourselves to ornament the body unless the culture of the spirit in virtue had first been neglected."[1]

At the same time that he writes with such unsparing severity, Bernard deprecates any hostile or contemptuous spirit toward others on the part of his brethren, and says, in words very characteristic: "If there be in us a scornful, pharisaic pride toward other men, and we despise others better than ourselves, what will economy and severity in our own way of life profit us, with our contrasted plainness of dress, the daily sweat of our hands in labor, our practice of fasts and vigils, the specially austere conduct of our life? unless, perhaps, we do these things to be seen of men. But of such Christ says, 'Verily, I say unto you that they shall have their reward.' If in this life only we have hope in Christ, are we not of all men most miserable? But really not even in this life may we hope in Christ, if we seek in His service only a temporary fame. . . . Could not some way be found for us easier than this to the in-

[1] Opera, vol. prim., Apol. ad Guill., cap. 8–10, coll. 1234–1241.

fernal world? If we must go thither, why, at any rate, may we not choose that broad road which leads to death, and in which multitudes walk?"[1]

He would never be disdainful toward others, this devout and sympathetic Bernard, though he so sharply reproved their excesses. He believed, as firmly as any later Puritan, that "the kingdom of God is within you:" that is, as he said, that it is not in vestments, or in foods, but in the virtues of the inner man; and that humbleness of mind in leathern garments is more precious than pride walking in tunics.[2] But he interpreted the rule of Benedict wisely, — indulgently, even, when any of his monks were sick or aged; with his own hands he ministered to them; with thoughtful care he counselled for their comfort; and by this, as well as by his peculiarly inspiring mental force, his extraordinary position in the world, and his holiness of life, he won their tender and reverent love. No such laxity, however, as he had rebuked at Clugni, had ever a place under his administration. He was an abbot watching for those committed to his care, as one who should give account of them unto God; and the strictness of his enforcement of the rule of the monastery, however tempered by wisdom and kindness, was firm and steady.

It is a strange life which thus comes before us, amid the amenities of our modern society: hard and coarse in many of its aspects, with no delightful social refinements to relieve and adorn it; no tender ministries of

[1] Opera, vol. prim., Apol. ad Guill., cap. 1, coll. 1222–1223.

[2] Regnum Dei non exterius in vestimentis aut alimentis corporis, sed in virtutibus interioris hominis. . . . Tunicati et elati abhorremus pellicias! tanquam non melior sit pellibus involuta humilitas, quam tunicata superbia. — *Opera*, vol. prim., coll. 1231–1232.

womanly affection; no leap and romp of children's feet on nursery floors; no gladness and freedom, and happy incentive to all that is best, in the domestic fireside-life. It had immense moral dangers connected with it. It wrought, unquestionably, enormous damage to the spirit and even the nature in many, who learned obedience rather than courage, who came to value a really selfish excitement of sensibility above intelligent faith and consecration, who above all learned to distrust womanhood, becoming at once cynical and erotic. We see this in history, as we should have inferred it from the nature of man. Readers of "Ivanhoe" will remember that it was a monk of the Cistercian order, to which Bernard had given the superb consecration of his fame, whom Scott represents, with essential historical truth, as the cautious, elegant, and conscienceless voluptuary, Prior Aymer. Caution and elegance did not always attend, and thinly gild, the selfishness of vice. The Italian proverb was often vindicated, that "the solitary man becomes either a beast or an angel;"[1] and on the earth beasts are produced more easily than angels. Unnatural restraints, applied to multitudes of men, tend to reaction into unnatural excesses; the recoil of the passions against the sharp regulation reminding one of the rush of a mob upon the bayonets which it overleaps. I am surely no advocate of monastic life, but am heartily glad that it has so largely disappeared, with the wastes which it subdued and the forests which it conquered, or, if any prefer the comparison, with the quenched volcanoes and the extinct mammals of an earlier epoch. But we may not forget, what even Voltaire did not hesitate to admit, that if monastic life became vicious, the secular life was often still more so;

[1] ".Uomo solitario, o bestia o angiolo."

and for any fair estimate of it we must place it in our thoughts beside the fierce and turbulent temper, projected from preceding centuries, which surrounded the monastery; the savage fury, the rapacious and lustful strife, the craft and chicane, the bloody and destroying ambitions of the age.[1] So picturing it to ourselves, in its relations and contrasts, we shall not wonder that when ruled by a Bernard the abbey had in it a strong attraction; that not only the weak, the timid, or the poor, but men of the finest and highest spirit, the most cultured, enthusiastic, and devout of the time, were drawn toward it with almost irresistible force.

The very unchangeableness of the vows which they assumed became with most a condition of peace. By their own act they had been severed for life from the prizes and pursuits of the world at large. In general, therefore, they did not quarrel with their selected condition, any more than a man quarrels with his stature or his complexion, his descent from certain parents, or the loss of a limb. He may regret whatever permanently limits or fetters him, but as far as possible he adjusts his mind to it. Not a few of the monks doubtless regretted at times their isolation from secular life; but as it was a thing now fixed and final, they ceased to contend against what could not be altered, and most

[1] On leur donna même souvent des terres incultes qu'ils défrichèrent de leurs mains, et qu'ils firent ensuite cultiver par des serfs. Ils formèrent des bourgades, des petites villes même autour de leurs monastères. Ils étudièrent ; ils furent les seuls qui conservèrent les livres en les copiant : et enfin, dans ces temps barbares où les peuples étaient si misérables, c'était une grande consolation de trouver dans les cloîtres une retraite assurée contre la tyrannie. . . . La férocité et la débauche, l'anarchie et la pauvreté, étaient dans tous les états. Jamais l'ignorance ne fut plus universelle. Il ne se fesait pourtant pas moins de miracles que dans d'autres temps. — *Essai sur les Mœurs*, chaps. xx., xxxvii.

of them, certainly, obeyed the instinct to make the best thing possible of it.

Then the situation had always at least this sovereign attraction to the nobler minds, that it held before them constantly the great ideal of a life of holiness, in the midst of the tumults and confusions of the earth. The impulse which led such to join it was in the desire to overcome the world, and to make themselves ready for immortal experiences. Their daily life kept before them the eternity for which they were preparing. The earth was to perish, and the things of the earth to be burned and to vanish. But the things which they were seeking should abide, while God lived, and while their souls were living before Him. A century hence, what would it matter to any man whether he had spent a few years here in a palace or in a hut, had eaten dainties and slept in state, or had eaten coarse food and lain on the hard pallet of the monk? But a century hence what an infinite difference whether he had kept aloof from the world and near to Christ, and had sought after God with all his soul, or had lived in a luxury which had poisoned his spirit, in a selfishness and pride bringing ultimate ruin! The eternal world was near, vivid, habitually controlling, to monks like Bernard; and their particular manner of life, whatever else it did or did not, held them up to the level of this austere and high contemplation.

It also gave sufficient opportunity for high and fruitful meditation, to those prepared by nature and by culture for this benign exercise; and sometimes, surely, this blessing was a great one. Every man must retire at intervals within himself, in reflection and silence, to do the best things. As Bishop Horne said, writing of John the Baptist, "He who desires to undertake the

office of guiding others in the ways of wisdom and holiness will best qualify himself for that purpose by first passing some time in a state of sequestration from the world; where anxious cares and delusive pleasures may not break in upon him, to dissipate his attention; where no sceptical nor sectarian spirit may blind his understanding, and nothing may obstruct the illumination from above; . . . where, in a word, he may grow and wax strong in spirit until the day of his showing unto Israel." Bedford Jail became the fit cradle for "Pilgrim's Progress." Milton's blindness, which severed him from the world, unlocked for him the gates of Paradise. The "Saint's Rest" came from a bed of prolonged suffering; and Pascal's "Pensées" were born, we know, of a life of unrelieved and isolating anguish. In the woods at Northampton, meditating beneath the silent shades, Edwards attained sublimest thoughts of God and of His Kingdom. In how many chambers of scholars, in how many schools of sacred learning, where outward things for the time at least have been excluded, and no echo has been heard of the furious and mercenary rush of society, have men come to the loftiest efforts and successes of intellectual and spiritual life! There philanthropies and missions have been born; there sublime intuitions of truth have given new import to the Scripture itself; and there Immortality has become, to the soul asserting kinship with God, a proximate presence.

So it was, in its measure, in the earlier time. The more aspiring and thoughtful spirits, who rose nearest the vision of things Divine, found freedom and opportunity in the cell of the monk which they never could have found in palaces of kings. Solitude was to them, as Landor said, "the audience-chamber of God." What

Lord Bacon regarded as necessary to the true advancement of learning they certainly enjoyed: "foundations and buildings, with endowments, and ordinances of government, all tending to quietness and privateness of life, and discharge of cares and troubles; much," he adds, "like the stations which Virgil prescribeth for the hiving of bees."[1] Certainly some honey was secreted in those human hives, on which the storm might not break too roughly.

It was while Anselm was lying on his bed at the convent of Bec, meditating the question how it could be that things past and future might appear as present to the minds of the prophets, so that they should apprehend and declare them with perfect assurance, that he saw, or seemed to himself to see, through the intervening walls, the monks of the oratory and the dormitory, whose duty it was, preparing the church and the altar for the matin-service, one of them at length ringing the bell, and at the sound all the brothers hastening to the service. He marvelled at the vision, but instantly conceived it the easiest possible thing for God to show coming things to the prophets by His Spirit, since He had enabled even himself to look with his own eyes through so many separating obstacles.[2] So, at another time, when he was intently meditating the question how the doctrine concerning God, His eternity, omnipresence, omnipotence, with His holy character, can be expressed and proved in a brief form, and when the question so pursued him even at worship that he feared it as a temptation of

[1] Advancement of Learning, book ii. vol. ii. pp. 91-92. London ed., 1825.

[2] Miratus est de re quæ acciderat. Concepit ergo apud se Deo levissimum esse, prophetis in Spiritu ventura monstrare, cum sibi concesserit quæ fiebant per tot obstacula corporeis oculis posse videre. — EADMER: *De Vita Anselmi*, lib. i. p. 8, D.

the devil, again at night, in the midst of the nocturnal vigils, a sudden light shone in his heart, the whole matter opened itself to his understanding, and his soul was filled with an immense triumphant gladness.[1]

These are of course extraordinary examples; and taken by themselves they might seem to indicate something extravagant, even abnormal, in the intellectual state produced or nurtured in monastic life. But it must be remembered that that life also had in it much of external labor, to medicine the mind, and largely to detain it from irregular and fantastic states. The work was of various kinds, but always important. I am not aware of any minute account of the daily labors of the monks of Clairvaux. Doubtless they were too busy in performing these to take time for recording them; the very thought of which, indeed, might have seemed to them foolish. But we know that the labors with which they began, the nature and the stress of which I have partly indicated, went on also in subsequent years, though lightened, of course, and becoming jocund and rewarding, as the orchards matured and gradually extended, as the meadows laughed with ampler supplies of grains and grasses, as the vineyard yielded richer clusters, and as the harnessed water-power aided in the work of the tanneries and the mill.

But such labor in the fields was alternated often, probably always among those adapted to gentler pursuits, by certain forms of literary labor, not commonly, perhaps, of the highest order, but in their way useful and educating. The Scriptorium or writing-room,[2]

[1] Eadmer, lib. i. p. 5, D.

[2] *Scriptorium*. Cella in monasteriis scriptioni librorum destinata. Alcuinus, in locum ubi scriptores sedent, Poëm. 126, et apud Canisium. Du Cange: *Gloss. Man. Latin.*, tom. vi. 136.

before and after the time of Bernard, was a room accommodating several persons, sometimes many, while engaged in transcribing books. It seems not to have been usually warmed or artificially lighted, for Maitland quotes a couplet attached to a copy of Jerome's "Commentary on Daniel," in which the scribe says of himself that while he wrote he froze, and that what he could not complete by the light of the sun he had to finish by the light of moon and stars.[1] But the necessary implements for writing were provided: ink, of lamp-black or the soot of burned ivory, mixed with gum and diluted with acid, forming an ink more durable than ours; pens, chalk, pumice-stone for smoothing the parchment, knives for cutting it, rules, compasses for measuring the intervals between lines, ink-stands, awls, for literal "punctuation;" sometimes styles, of iron or bone, for writing on wax tablets, — as Anselm, not having ink at hand, wrote his Proslogion at first on wax plates, which were afterward lost and broken.[2] The cotton paper which came into frequent use after the tenth century came in answer to a demand of the Scriptorium, as offering a cheap substitute for the then costly parchment. Pens made from feathers had earlier appeared, though many still preferred the calamus, or reed pen. The same silence was to be observed in the writing-room as elsewhere in the convent, and diligence and patience in the performance of the work were always required. Large gifts were bestowed, estates were sometimes left, for the maintenance of the Scriptorium; and no doubt the place was dear to many, who offered for it the prayer which remains inscribed in

[1] Dum scripsit friguit, et quod cum lumine solis scribere non potuit, perfecit lumine noctis. — *The Dark Ages*, p. 406. London ed., 1844.

[2] Eadmer, Vita, p. 8, E.

uncial letters on a document of the eighth century: "Vouchafe, O Lord, to bless this Scriptorium of Thy servants, and all that dwell therein; that whatsoever sacred writings shall be here read or written by them, they may receive with understanding, and bring the same to good effect, through our Lord Jesus Christ."[1]

The books thus transcribed or composed by the monks were also commonly bound by them, for the most part in sheepskin or pigskin, but sometimes in wooden covers curiously carved, sometimes in plates of lead, or, if richer in execution and of special importance, in velvet ornamented with ivory and jewels, or in silver plates, further enriched with gold or with relics. Initial letters were often inserted in gold, azure, or crimson; ornamented borders were added, sometimes elaborate in execution; and paintings not unfrequently appeared in the columns, or on separate pages, many of them miniatures, some of them caricatures. In the National Library at Paris are books with thick covers of oak, plated with gold, and set with gems, with panels of gold representing in hammer-work the Crucifixion and Resurrection; others, with ivory tablets, delicately carved. One, at Munich, is furnished with gold-bordered covers, enriched with fine pearls, on which the Lord is represented as holding the Gospels in one hand and proclaiming benediction in the gesture of the other. Thus the goldsmith's art had frequent inspiration in the careful work of the Scriptorium. Tradition says that the nearly five hundred leaves of fine vellum, illuminated, in the British Museum, represent the copy of the Scriptures given by Alcuin to Charlemagne, the preparation of which occupied twenty years.

The mere work of transcription thus accomplished by

[1] See Maitland, Dark Ages, p. 407.

the monks was immense in extent, and of a really inestimable value. Mr. Hallam has truly said that the most important service rendered to our times by the Middle-Age monasteries "was as secure repositories of books. All our manuscripts have been preserved in this manner, and could hardly have descended to us by any other channel;" [1] and Mr. Lecky, who has certainly no fondness for the monastery, states without hesitation that it "became the one sphere of intellectual labor, and continued during many centuries to occupy that position." [2] Nearly, if not absolutely, the only libraries in Europe, properly so called, were then to be found in the monasteries; and through them we derive whatever we possess of the rich and vast literature of the world before Christ, and of the world as it was around Him. We do not always remember as we ought how deeply we are indebted to the care of monks, and to their labor in the silent Scriptorium in those tempestuous and destroying times, for what they preserved, not only of the Scriptures, or of the works of the early Fathers, but of even Gentile poets and orators, historians and philosophers.[3] Perhaps they did not always estimate aright

[1] The Middle Ages, vol. iii. p. 292. London ed., 1853.

[2] Hist. of European Morals, vol. ii. p. 212. New York ed., 1876.

[3] Of Cassiodorus (sixth century), Mabillon says: —

Quamobrem non modicis sumptibus universa emit sanctorum patrum opera, Cypriani, Hilarii, Ambrosii, Hieronymi, et Augustini. . . . Insuper quoscumque Historicos, quos invenire potuit, collegit, tractantes præsertim de rebus populi Dei, et Ecclesiæ, ut sunt Josephus, Eusebius, Orosius, Marcellinus, Prosper; libros item sanctorum Hieronymi et Gennadii, in quibus agitur de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis; item Historias ecclesiasticas Socratis, Sozomeni, et Teodoreti, quæ etiam, ipso suadente, ab Epiphanio Scholastico Latinè versæ, atque in unum corpus redactæ, Historiæ, quam nunc tripartitam dicimus, nomen dedere. Tandem arbitratus est, operæ pretium esse a monachis perlegi libros de Cosmographia ac Geographia tractantes; auctores item Rhetoricorum, et qui de Orthographia

the value of their work in this department, as at Clugni, for example, where it was prescribed as a custom for them when making a sign for a book which they wanted, to scratch the ear like an itching dog if asking for a copy of some Gentile writer, such as Virgil or Horace, Cicero or Plato.[1]

But whether fond of the work or not they did it, and often we know they remembered what they wrote, and used it freely, for illustration, or as furnishing themes for subsequent reflection. John of Salisbury, for example, in his single book "Policraticus, in Nugis Curialium, etc.," quotes Terence, Juvenal, Ovid, Horace, Persius, Cicero, Plato, Apuleius, and many others, — it is said by those who have counted them, in all more than a hundred and twenty ancient authors.[2] So it is reported that in the "Chronique d'Idace," a manuscript of the eleventh century, more than two hundred verses are extracted from different classical authors, as Virgil, Ovid, Juvenal, and others, all being arranged in order, apparently for no other purpose than to determine the prosodial quantity.[3] The principle of John of Salisbury

scripsere; istorum namque omnium lectio videbatur ipsi ad exactam sacræ paginæ intelligentiam valde opportuna. Addito, quod cum optaret singularum materiarum generibus Bibliothecam abundare, rariores quoque Medicinæ authores hinc inde selegit, ut iis, ad quos ægrotantium cura pertineret, inservirent, unde possent, agnita qualitate morborum, eorumdem saluti opportune consulere. — *Tract. de Stud. Monast.*, tom. prim. p. 24. Venice, 1729.

[1] Pro generali signo libri, extende manum, et move sicut folium libri moveri solet. . . . Pro signo libri sæcularis, quem aliquis paganus fecit, præmisso generali signo libri, adde, ut aurem tangas cum digito sicut canis cum pede pruriens solet, quia nec immerito infideles tali animanti comparantur. (Consue. Cluniac.). — MARTÈNE: *De Ant. Mon. Rit.*, tom. iv. l. v. c. xviii.

[2] See edition published at Lyons A. D. 1513, or at London A. D. 1595.

[3] Fosbrooke, "British Monachism," p. 250.

appears to have commended itself to at least the more discerning, that all things are to be read, some to be reprobated, some neglected, some lightly glanced at, others studied, while nothing should detain the mind upon it which does not tend to make men better; but from whatever quarter truth may come it is to be accepted in itself as incorrupt and incorruptible.[1] Of course the prejudice against writers who had known nothing of the Gospel was often very strong. Alcuin himself, of whom Guizot speaks with just admiration,[2] and who in his own works quotes Pythagoras, Aristotle, Aristippus, Plato, Homer, Virgil, Seneca, Pliny, is known in his later life to have desired his disciples not to read Virgil, on the ground that the sacred poets were sufficient for them, and they should not be polluted with the impure eloquence of the great Mantuan; and one of the abbots of Clugni, who had arranged a pleasant plan for reading Virgil, is related to have dreamed at night of a vast vase, of exquisite beauty, filled with serpents which came forth to twist about him. He suspected that this represented Virgil and his impure suggestions, and thereafter kept aloof from the secular poets.[3]

[1] De Nugis Curial., cap. ix., x.

[2] Hist. de la Civil. en France, Leçon xxii. tom. ii. p. 201: "C'est un moine, un diacre, la lumière de l'Église contemporaine; mais c'est en même temps un érudit, un lettré classique."

[3] Propositum illius fuit, ut Virgilii Maronis librum ex ordine lectitaret. In secuta nocte cum membra solveret in quietem, vidit in visu vas grande mira exterius pulchritudine venustatum sed interius innumeris serpentibus æstuantem; qui prosilientes ex vase ambiebant eum, licet minime nocuissent. Evigilans vir beatus, et prudenter considerans visionem, advertit in serpentibus figmenta poetica, librum Maronis intelligens in vase illo, quod exterius civile facundia coloratum, immundorum sensuum vanitate interius sordescebat. Abrenuntians deinceps Virgilio et pompis ejus, et suo cubiculo poetis exclusis, divinarum scripturarum pasci voluit veritate. — MABILLON: *Act. Sanct. Ord. S. Ben.* (*Vita S. Ordonis*), vol. vii. p. 187. Venetiis, 1733–40.

But many followed the course recommended by Justin Martyr,[1] by Clement of Alexandria,[2] afterward by Augustine,[3] who would all have the ancient authors read, on the ground that whatever things have anywhere been rightly said are the property of Christians. Origen's instruction to Gregory Thaumaturgus, to "extract from the philosophy of the Greeks what may serve as a preparation for Christianity, and from geometry and astronomy what may explain the sacred Scriptures,"[4] and Basil's exhortation to the young, to treat the ancient literature as bees treat flowers, selecting those suitable to their use and passing by others,[5] were not altogether forgotten in the Church, but still bore their fruit. Thus the abbot of a monastery, writing in the middle of the twelfth century, says, "The dishes prepared by Cicero do not form the principal or first course at my table; but if at any time, when filled with better food, anything of his pleases me, I take it, as one takes the trifles which are set on the table after dinner." And one writing the life of Herluin, an abbot of Bec, and speaking of the numbers of learned men who flocked to the monastery, expressly declares that "the fancies of the poets, the wisdom of the philosophers, and the culture of the liberal arts are greatly needed (valde sunt necessaria) to the true understanding of the holy Scriptures."[6]

So it came to pass that even classical literature was almost wholly preserved for modern time by the labor of the monks.[7] How many copies of ancient works

[1] Apology, i. 44.
[2] Stromata, i. 1, 2, 3, 5, 13, 17.
[3] Christ. Doct., ii. 40.
[4] Ep. to Gregory.
[5] Opera, tom. ii. p. 176. Paris ed., 1722.
[6] See Maitland, Dark Ages, pp. 176, 178, note.
[7] During the short rule of Abbot Desiderius at Monte Cassino, his monks wrote out Saint Austin's fifty Homilies, his Letters, his Comment

there may have been among the more than seven hundred manuscript volumes, larger and smaller, of which Ingulphus speaks (A.D. 1091) as destroyed by the fire at the abbey of Croyland,— together with charters written with extreme beauty, and adorned with golden crosses and pictures, as well as a wonderful astronomical table of various metals, of the rarest beauty — we do not know; nor how many there may have been among the seventeen hundred manuscript volumes said to have been in the abbey library at Peterborough. But certainly the Idyls of Theocritus, the Fasti of Ovid, the poems of Virgil and Horace, the treatises of Cicero, the comedies of Terence, still shown in the library of Monte Cassino, were copied by monks. So were many, probably the vast majority, of the nine thousand manuscripts which remain in the Laurentian Library at Florence; indeed, of all the manuscripts from the ten centuries between the fifth and the fifteenth, which largely give to the great libraries of Europe their attractiveness and their fame.

When the Venerable Bede, early in the eighth century, studied the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew tongues, he must have used monastic manuscripts which had been brought to his convent from Rome; and when Ordericus tells us

upon the Sermon on the Mount, upon Saint Paul, and upon Genesis; parts of Saint Jerome and Saint Ambrose, part of Saint Bede, Saint Leo's Sermons, the Orations of Saint Gregory Nazianzen; the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles, and the Apocalypse; various histories, including that of Saint Gregory of Tours, and of Josephus on the Jewish War, Justinian's Institutes, and many ascetic and other works; of the Classics, Cicero de Naturâ Deorum, Terence, Ovid's Fasti, Horace, and Virgil. Marcus Lapi, a Camaldolese, in the fifteenth century, copied a thousand volumes in less than fifty years. Jerome, a monk in an Austrian monastery, wrote so great a number of books that it is said a wagon with six horses would scarcely suffice to draw them. — J. H. NEWMAN: *Historical Sketches*, vol. i. p. 413. London ed., 1873.

of Lanfranc that "Athens, in its most flourishing state, renowned for the excellency of its teaching, would have honored him in every branch of eloquence and discipline," [1] he of whom Ordericus wrote could only have derived his principal instruments of training and of culture from the libraries of the abbeys and the labors of their inmates. I do not think it extravagant to say that except for the monasteries, with the manuscripts which they collected and the manuscripts which they copied, we should now have to regret the loss not only of many precious fragments of the ancient literature, but of almost all which it presents to us of the intellectual riches which were in the world before the Master. The destruction of the convents would have darkened the world in later centuries.

But the service rendered by the monks in the preservation of the Scriptures still surpassed in importance and value their service toward the classical writers. One cannot think of it without affectionate reverence. Thus the third abbot of Citeaux, Bernard's first convent, Saint Étienne, caused an immense Bible to be written in six volumes, and to be collated with Hebrew manuscripts by learned rabbis. [2] In A. D. 1299

[1] Eccl. Hist., lib. iv. cap. 7.

[2] Martène speaks of this as still existing A. D. 1709: "La bibliothèque est au dessus; . . . Il y a un bon fond de livres imprimez sur toutes sortes de matières, et sept ou huit cens manuscrits, dont la plûpart sont des ouvrages des pères de l'église. Les plus considérables sont la bible en six volumes, que Saint Étienne troisième abbé de Cîteaux fit corriger par des Rabins, le manuscrit qui contient la règle de Saint Benoît" etc., etc. Voy. Litt., prim. par. p. 221. Paris, 1717.

The same careful observer gives a multitude of other examples of important monastic manuscripts remaining to his time. This is one which modern libraries would give much to possess: "J'y vis entr' autres un ancien recueil d'homelies des saints Pères compilées par ordre de l'empereur Charlemagne, pour être lûës aux offices divins durant le cours de

a Bible in two large folio volumes, with annotations, was borrowed of a convent at Winchester by a bishop, who gave bonds for returning it. Another, in twelve volumes, was bequeathed to a convent by the Bishop of Cambrai, A. D. 1294, the monks engaging not to sell it, or to lend it without ample security. Wicbert, bishop of Hildesheim at the end of the ninth century, wrote out a whole Bible with his own hand; and Olbert, abbot of Gembloux, in the early part of the eleventh century, wrote another. One of the successors of Wicbert gave two additional copies to the abbey-library, carefully elaborated, with marginal glosses.[1] It was held that every monastery was weak and defenceless against the world and the devil which had not in it a complete, and if possible a rich, copy of the Scriptures.

Often copies remain, not only written with cautious exactness and delicate care, but even splendidly ornamented, as I have said, not only with rich colors in the initials and on the borders, but on the outside with gold and jewels. Lacroix gives signal instances of these; mentioning, for example, a psalter of the thirteenth century, containing the French, Hebrew, and Latin text, in five colors, with commentaries added, a book now in the National Library at Paris; mentioning, also, books covered with enamelled copper, or with carved ivory, or with silver ornamented with jewels. "All great public collections," he says, "show with pride some of these rare and

l'année, écrit de son temps" (p. 56). Of the collection of manuscripts at Clairvaux, he mentions twenty important ones particularly, and says: "Il en faut dire de même des ouvrages dogmatiques des pères, dont nous en avons vû plusieurs dans Clairvaux, écrits du temps de Saint Bernard même, et entr' autres les six livres de Saint Augustin contre Julien." (Page 103.)

[1] For the foregoing particulars, and many others similar, see Maitland, Dark Ages, pp. 264, 196, 198, *et seq.*

venerable bindings, decorated with gold, silver, or copper, engraved, chased, or inlaid with precious stones or colored glass, with cameos or antique ivories."[1] Some of the manuscripts were written on purple vellum, and either partly or wholly in characters of gold or silver, instead of ink; and such, of course, were furnished with the most luxurious covers. Silvestre gives ample examples in his "Paléographie Universelle." Louis the Débonnaire gave to a monastery at Soissons, A. D. 826, a copy of the Gospels, written in letters of gold, and bound in plates of the same metal. Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, caused two similar copies to be written for his church, also bound in gold adorned with gems. A count of Friuli bequeathed to his children, besides his copy of the Bible, a Gospel bound in gold, another in silver, another in ivory. The Emperor Henry Second, on recovering from illness at Monte Cassino, presented to the monastery a copy of the Gospels written in uncial characters, illuminated as well as bound with gold, and studded with precious gems. An Elector of Bavaria offered an entire town, with its dependencies, to a convent in exchange for a single rich copy of the Gospels, and the monks declined the offer.[2] Such instances might, no doubt, be indefinitely multiplied, if one had means and leisure to pursue the research; and they show what value was put upon the Scriptures before the governing Church authorities came to fear the effect of their general use, and what kind of work it was which went on in the busy Scriptorium.

The fact that so many manuscript copies of the Scriptures remain, in whole or in part, after all the desola-

[1] Arts of the Middle Ages, p. 473. London ed., 1875.

[2] See Maitland, Dark Ages, pp. 206, 204.

tions of war and fire,[1] after binders had cut up multitudes of parchments to be used for covers, after tailors even had employed them for measures, as came near being done, it is said, with a venerable copy of Magna Charta now in the British Museum,[2] and after revolutionary sackings of the convents had scattered their libraries, — this shows how eager and how constant was the labor which produced them in such numbers. One of the most careful and learned of modern students of the text of the Scriptures says, with just emphasis, "It is very memorable that written copies of the Greek Scriptures, including those of the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament, far exceed in age and number those of all the classical writers put together."[3] This of course does not include the vastly larger number of manuscripts of the Vulgate, or Latin translation of the Bible, of which more copies remain than of all other

[1] The wail of the monks of Hildesheim had often to be repeated in the monasteries: "Postea 12 Kal. Februarii peccatis agentibus principale templum Hildineshemensis ecclesiæ diabolo insidiante per noctem igne succensum, sed solo divinæ miserationis subsidio velociter, Deo gratias! est exstinctum. Sed hoc, ah! ah! nobis restat lugendum, quia in eodem incendio cum preciosissimo missali ornamento inexplicabilis et inrecuperabilis copia periit librorum. ("Annal. Hildesheim." an. 1013.)

[2] See Timbs' "Curiosities of London," p. 587, Art. "British Museum." A palmary instance of the careless rapacity of binders is presented in the fact that a part of the lost fragment of the famous Tabula or map of the Roman Empire, originally made in the fourth century and copied in the thirteenth, was found not many years since in the parchment cover of a book in the library at Trèves, and returned to its place in the Imperial Library at Vienna. The portions still missing are probably to be accounted for in the same way, and may yet come to light. So on a plate of glass at Trinity College, Cambridge, is shown a leaf of the Gospel of Mark, made up of twenty or more pieces contained in the binding of a volume of Gregory Nazianzen, and picked out A. D. 1862.

[3] F. H. Scrivener, Lects. on Text of the New Testament, p. 11. Cambridge ed., 1875.

early books put together. Of the Greek Scriptures alone, about sixty copies are known to exist, written in the large uncial character of the early centuries, where an average of twelve letters filled a line, though many of these copies are but in parts; and of those written in the half-uncial or in the later cursive character, which prevailed from the tenth century onward, more than sixteen hundred are known and catalogued as belonging to public or private libraries. Yet all of those in Europe are certainly not yet known, while the Eastern monasteries, from which have come most important additions to the list in recent years, have been only imperfectly explored. These Middle-Age manuscripts, as Isaac Taylor has said, "were often indebted for their preservation, in periods of disturbance and violence, to the sacredness of the roofs under which they were lodged;" while such was the durability of the materials employed, the parchment and the ink, that, as he also says, "while the massive walls of the monasteries are often seen prostrate, and their materials fast mingling with the soil, the manuscripts penned within them, or perhaps at a time when their stones were yet in the quarry, are still fair and perfect, and glitter with their gold and silver, their cerulean and their cinnabar."[1]

[1] Transmission of Ancient Books, pp. 45, 44. Liverpool ed., 1879.

The Cistercian Convents, of which Clairvaux was one, were especially noted for zeal in collecting and transcribing manuscripts, for which Mabillon gives the reason: "Quod propriæ fundationis initio veterum monachorum consuetudinem renovare studuerint, quæ in antiquaria arte versabatur." Concerning the collections thus made, he adds: "Plerasque dictarum cellularum etiamnum Cistertii conspicimus, in quibus antiquarii, librorumque compaginatores operabantur; ingensque voluminum copia, quæ ad hæc usque tempora in insignioribus ejusdem ordinis cœnobiis in Gallia servantur. . . . Reperiebantur, sicut etiam nunc temporis adsunt, in hisce bibliothecis omnium librorum genera, et præcipue universa sanctorum Patrum opera, tum quæ dogmata continent, tum quæ speciatim de morum

Nor was the labor of the monks simply that of transcription. They translated, edited, composed works, as well as copied them. Many sermons and homilies were of course written by them, with a multitude of annals. One monk of St. Gall, early in the eleventh century, wrote a German paraphrase of the Psalms. Another, at Bamberg, who became an abbot, composed a double paraphrase, in Latin verse and German prose, of Solomon's Song. The writings of the Pseudo-Dionysius, which came into France early in the ninth century as a present from the Greek Emperor, were translated into Latin at the abbey of St. Denis, and afterward retranslated by John Scotus. Chrysostom is said to be quoted by some of the early mediæval writers, though I have not seen this. Plato was certainly known, in a measure, through Boethius and Plotinus. The Venerable Bede, as we know, applied himself to every branch of literature and science then known, and treated of history, astrology, orthography, rhetoric, natural science, poetry, and music, as

honestate pertractant." Mabillon recognizes the indebtedness of letters and of devotion to the library gathered at Clairvaux in Bernard's time, and closes thus: "Solumque poeseos authores ipsis interdicebantur, ut ex epistola 15, prædicti Nicolai Clarævallensis colligitur, ubi ait, 'Nos nihil recipimus quod metricis legibus continetur.'" ("Tract. de Stud. Monast.," tom. prim. pp. 35–36.) Such an inveterate scamp as Nicholas naturally preferred the Poets to the Fathers!

Entre les manuscrits du temps qui décorent la première de ces deux bibliothèques [Citeaux and Clairvaux], on remarque principalement les quatre grands volumes de la Bible, revûe et corrigée sous la direction de l'Abbé S. Estiene, comme il a été dit ailleurs. Dans celle de Clairvaux se voïent aussi plusieurs beaux manuscrits du même siècle, entre lesquels les plus remarquables sont un Psautier et un Décret de Gratien, l'un et l'autre en beau velin *in-folio*. Le Psautier, dont les letres initiales de chaque Psaume sont en or moulu d'une grande beauté, est un présent fait à Clairvaux par Henri, fils du Roi Louis le Gros, puis Moine sous S. Bernard, et successivement Evêque de Beauvais et Archevêque de Reims. — *Hist. Littéraire*, tom. ix. pp. 141–142.

well as of the Scriptures. His Ecclesiastical History shows astonishing learning for the time, and Burke's remark about him is simply just, that "it is impossible to refuse him the praise of an incredible industry and a generous thirst of knowledge." [1]

Indeed generally, except for the work of the monkish chroniclers, our knowledge would be vastly imperfect either of French or English history. Bede, Ingulphus, Matthew Paris, William of Malmesbury, and others in England, or, on the other side of the Channel, Raoul Glaber, Odo of Vienne, William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and many more, trace for us the early course of events with fond enthusiasm and picturesque faithfulness, if sometimes with a readiness to accept the marvellous in their reports which belonged rather to their times than to ours. Ordericus shows himself a cultivated man, as he should have been, having free access to the monastery library containing more than a hundred and fifty manuscript volumes, of ancient authors, as of those more recent. He quotes Aristotle, Herodian, Josephus, Philo, as well as Cicero, Sallust, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Terence, and the works of the Fathers; and his account, especially of the contemporaneous relations between Normandy and England, gives him high rank among writers of his time. The chronicle of Matthew Paris, besides its careful and graphic account of historical events, contains reports of eclipses, and of remarkable astronomical and meteorological phenomena, which, as his French translator properly notices, entitle him to the careful attention of modern physicists.[2] The

[1] Works, vol. v. p. 532. Boston ed., 1839. Ibique venerabilem Bedam intueri publicum in Scholis Professorem, cujus etiam Alumni per varias Galliæ et Germaniæ provincias dispertiti fuere. — MABILLON: *Tract. de Stud. Monast.*, Pars prim. p. 83.

[2] Introd. à la Grande Chronique, p. xliv. Paris ed., 1840.

"Chronicon Angliæ," by another monk of St. Alban's, the "Chronicon Anglicanum," from the Cistercian abbey of Coggeshall, the "Chronicle" of Roger of Hoveden, the "Polychronicon" of Ranulph Higden, with other similar collections, have been lately published, you know, by the British Government in recognition of their importance.

Not only annals engaged the attention of the monks. The first treatise on the Art of Poetry which appeared in the French tongue was written by a monk of St. Geneviève at Paris; the only grammar of the Romance language by a monk of Einseidelin.[1] Peter the Venerable, in Bernard's time, wrote a treatise against the Jews, to show the divinity of the Lord. He wrote another, in four books, against the Mohammedans;[2] and he had the Koran translated into Latin, with the aid of those familiar with Arabic, that the West might understand the formidable religion which was rising to power in the East.[3] The study of the canon-law became common, especially after Gratian, an Italian monk, had published, in the middle of the twelfth century, his "Decretum," or collection of canons, papal epistles, and sentences from the Fathers, arranged in chapters, under titles.

[1] Mores Catholici, vol. iii. pp. 238, 273.

[2] Two of these have disappeared. The others are in his Opera, coll. 661–720 [Migne ed.].

[3] The letter which he wrote to Bernard on sending this to him, begins thus: —

Mitto vobis, charissime, novam translationem nostram, contra pessimam nequam Machumet hæresim disputantem. Quæ nuper, dum in Hispaniis morarer, meo studio de Arabica versa est in Latinam. Feci autem eam transferri a perito utriusque linguæ viro magistro Petro Toletano. Sed quia lingua Latina non ei adeo familiaris, vel nota erat, ut Arabica, dedi ei coadjutorem doctum virum dilectum filium et fratrem Petrum notarium nostrum, reverentiæ vestræ, ut æstimo, bene cognitum. — *Opera Pet. Ven.*, col. 649.

Instruction, too, was given outside the abbeys; as Peter of Blois mentions the instruction given at Cambridge by teachers from Croyland [A. D. 1109], who instructed in "philosophical theorems, and other primitive sciences," teaching "grammar according to Priscian and Remigius, the logic of Aristotle according to the 'Introductions,' of Porphyry and Averrhoes (?), the 'Rhetoric' of Cicero, and the 'Institutes' of Quintilian." In a word, it may be said, without hesitation, that it was a life of distinctly various study and literary labor which went on in the monasteries, whenever those of studious taste and habits, as must often have happened, found themselves in these. The ages were "dark," but whatever points of light and promise appeared in Christendom were commonly in the convents; and that there were more of them than is commonly supposed is made very evident in the rich volumes of the "Histoire Littéraire de la France," by the Benedictines of St. Maur. It is never to be forgotten that it was by a secluded monk, Thomas à Kempis, that that "Imitation of Christ" was no doubt written which has been translated into more languages, more frequently reprinted, more widely read, than probably any other book of human authorship, and which has certainly contributed not less largely than any other to the quickening and culture of devout feeling.

But it was by no means literary labor alone which went on in the monasteries. Albertus Magnus was a monk of the thirteenth century, who wrote on physical geography, the physiology of plants, who was fascinated by analytical chemistry, and who arranged a hot-house in his convent at Cologne. Vincent, of Beauvais, was another, author of the "Speculum majus." Roger Bacon was

another, whom Humboldt esteemed "the most important and influential man of the Middle Ages;"[1] born too early, no doubt, but great as a linguist, a mathematician, a scientific discoverer, who understood the error of the calendar and how to rectify it, who was familiar with the theory and the practice of perspective, with the use of concave and convex lenses, and of the camera obscura, with the theory of the telescope; who, in fact, largely anticipated the philosophy which gave subsequent renown to the name of Lord Bacon. He was a devout Catholic and monk, though his strange scientific discoveries made men fear him as a wizard. On a lower level, in humbler ways, many were skilful in other arts than those of the copyist. Thus at Evroult, Ordericus tells us that one of the early abbots had a lively genius for the arts, such as sculpture and architecture, while with his own hands he prepared wax tablets and other implements for writing; that one of the monks was specially skilful in illuminating books, as well as in copying and committing them to memory; that one superintended with success the building of the abbey-church; that another made a shrine for relics, ornamented with silver and gold, and provided much other costly and elaborate furniture for the convent; and that another ornamented a book of the Gospels with gold, silver, and precious stones; while others were accomplished musicians, composing antiphons, as well as singing with taste and skill. One, at least, was a famous physician, held in such love and honor by his patients that rich gifts came to the monastery on his account.[2] The monks of Clairvaux had a high reputation for the beauty and richness of their illu-

[1] Cosmos, vol. ii. p. 619.

[2] Eccl. Hist. iii. 7, 12; ii. 5; vi. 5, 4; v. 12, 15, 19.

minated missals, and at least one example remains of their admirable carvings in wood.[1]

The monks, too, gave lessons in agriculture to the ruder peasantry, making their labor more skilful, its results more abundant. Sharon Turner has shown from Domesday Book how superior was the culture of church-lands, beginning as wastes but coming to have less forest upon them than other lands, and less common pasture, with more abundant meadow-land in more numerous distributions;[2] and the neighboring peasants could not but learn new wisdom in regard to the culture of vineyards and orchards, the better kinds of esculents and grains, in regard indeed to the entire science and art of practical gardening. The most famous vineyards along the Rhine were planted by monks. The choicest wines of Burgundy come to-day from grounds which

[1] Ozanam's tribute to Fulda is not less emphatic: —

(In the eighth century) Fulde était l'école, non de la Germanie seulement, mais de tout l'empire carlovingien. On y professait, comme à Saint-Gall, toutes les sciences, tous les arts, toutes les industries qui font l'ornement de la civilization. Pendant que les défrichements, poussés avec vigueur, éclaircissaient la forêt vierge, et que les belles fermes de l'abbaye réduisaient en pratique les règles de l'agriculture romaine, il y avait des fonds affectés à tous les ouvrages de pierre, de bois, et de métal; et le trésorier veillait à ce que les ateliers de sculpture, de ciselure, d'orfévrerie, ne fussent jamais vides. Une inscription en vers, tracée sur la porte de la salle où travaillaient les copistes, les exhortait à multiplier les livres, en prenant garde de s'attacher à des textes corrects, et de ne pas les altérer par des interpolations frivoles. . . . Le moine Probus professait pour Virgile et Cicéron un culte si religieux, qu'on l'accusait, en riant, de les ranger au nombre des saints. On étudiait l'introduction de Porphyre aux Catégories d'Aristote avec tant d'acharnement, qu'on disputait si les genres et les espèces dont traitait le philosophe étaient des noms ou des choses; et les controverses de Fulde remuaient déjà le problème qui devait mettre aux prises, pendant trois cents ans, les réalistes et les nominaux. — OZANAM: *La Civil. chrétienne chez les Francs*, pp. 592–593. Paris ed., 1872.

[2] Hist. of Anglo-Saxons, vol. ii. p 478, app. iv. chap. 2. London ed., 1852.

they subdued and tilled. Districts which had been bleak and sterile, they changed not unfrequently into pleasant lands of corn and wine, fruitful and glad.

It is also to be observed that the monasteries were centres of the distribution of charities, to a vast extent. We do not get the testimony to this from modern Roman Catholics. Neander mentions the illustrative fact that in the year A. D. 1117, when there was a great famine, the monastery of Heisterbach, near Cologne, distributed in one day fifteen hundred alms, of meat, herbs, and bread.[1] But this was by no means an extraordinary example. At Bernard's own convent, when at a time of scarcity in Burgundy the starving peasantry flocked to it in great numbers, not having command of food enough to supply them all till the harvest should come, he selected two thousand to whom regular support should be given, while others received minor assistance; and this was continued for three months.[2] He was not content with furnishing such immediate assistance, but, with a practical shrewdness as marked as his compassion, he counselled and directed his friend, the Count of Champagne, in establishing a permanent fund for the benefit of the poor, which should go on increasing and supplying ever fresh means for their relief.[3] He exhorted others to a liberality like his own, and to a bishop of Troyes, who in sickness had distributed all his goods to the poor, he wrote in terms of such ardent praise as no genius or wealth could have wrested from his pen. "Above all

[1] Hist. of Church, vol. iv. p. 239, note.

[2] Opera, vol. sec., Vita, iv. lib. ii. 6, col. 2501.

[3] Opera S. Bern., Vita, i. lib. ii. col. 2183. Et immortalia templa fundare consuluit, et eleemosynas ea sagacitate disponere, ut semper fructificantes redivivis et renascentibus accessionibus novas semper eleemosynas parturirent.

royal treasures," he says, "this title [derived from a voluntary poverty] ennobles you, and makes you illustrious."[1] Practically, his conviction was the same with that of Anselm, that "the riches of the world are for the common benefit of men, as created by the common Father of all, and that by natural law no one has more right than another to any possession;"[2] and they both acted on the conviction with Christian liberality, in their dealings with the poor. Anselm, at Bec, gave so freely that he had to exhort the monks to hope in God for what they themselves needed, who would be sure to send it in some unexpected fashion.[3] So one of the abbots of Clugni broke up the sacred and costly vessels of the church, with beautiful ornaments and golden crowns an imperial gift, to relieve the poor;[4] and many others, in humbler manner, counted it their joy as well as their duty to minister to the needy. Political economists, if there had been such in that remote day, might have objected, as they now do, that such vast help rendered to the poor only stimulates mendicancy. But it must at least be remembered that the monks showed also, in their own life, the dignity of labor; and that in those harder times an innocent and a helpless poverty, occasioned by calamities of nature or of war, was far more frequent than with us.

But not to the poor alone, to the sick as well, the monasteries ministered. The writings of Hippocrates, of Galen, or of the Saracenic physicians when translated into Latin, were sure to be in their libraries, if anywhere. Whatever of botanical or chemical knowledge

[1] Vol. prim., epist. xxiii. col. 167.
[2] Eadmer, De Vita, p. 8, E.
[3] Eadmer, De Vita, p. 10, C.
[4] Mores Catholici, vol. vii. p. 358.

existed in the world, however small and insufficient, was also there most frequently found; and they who possessed it were naturally called on for the services which such knowledge might assist, not by the poor alone, but in castle and palace. William the Conqueror died, you remember, in a Norman priory, with a bishop and an abbot for his principal physicians;[1] and Goisbert, Prior of Maule, was peculiarly famous and beloved as a physician, among those of high rank.[2] Nor were their aids confined to those who could reward them. When the malignant erysipelas, known as St. Anthony's fire, swept over parts of France in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and when the more fearful leprosy — partly imported, but favored certainly by wretched living, the want of cleanliness, with constant exposure to cold and damp — came to its terrific prevalence, and made each person infected a moving centre for distributing the plague, the monasteries, many of them, saw their office and effectively performed it. Hospitals and refuges were provided for the leprous, and, as Mr. Lecky has said, "monks flocked in multitudes to serve in them."[3] A Dominican monk, quoted by Neander, writing a century later, but writing what was as really if not as extensively true of preceding times, says that "owing to the danger of infection, the impatience and ingratitude of the victims of the disease, it was one of the most forbidding of labors to wait on them. Among thousands, but very few were to be found who could be induced to live with them; for, with many, nature herself revolted at it. Had there not been some," he adds, "who, for God's sake, fought down the repugnance of nature, they

[1] Ordericus, lib. vii. c. 14 [an. 1087].
[2] Ord. Vit., lib. v. cc. 12, 15.
[3] Hist. of European Morals, vol. ii. p. 90.

would have been left absolutely deprived of all human assistance."[1] Women, as well as men, took part in the service; and the high-born and delicately nurtured, in the indomitable spirit of religious enthusiasm, bound up the offensive and dreadful sores, and applied to them their poor emollients.

It is certainly also to the high and permanent honor of the monasteries that the first institutions in Christendom for the remedial treatment of insanity, and for the protection of those suffering from it, proceeded from them. Nearly five centuries ago, A. D. 1409, a monk founded an asylum for lunatics in Valencia; others followed, in different cities of Spain, and the oldest similar asylum in Rome was erected by Spaniards, under the impulse thus imparted.[2] Pinel, whose name will have immortal renown for his careful investigation of insanity, and his success in the humane treatment of it, paid honorable tribute to this work of the monks. It is the more noteworthy because insanity was so commonly regarded in the Middle Age as a direct judgment of God, if not as representing demoniacal possession.

Occasionally, at least, the monks rescued and reformed condemned criminals, as Bernard himself did on one memorable occasion, when he met a famous robber on the way to execution as he himself was going to visit the Count of Champagne. Seizing the halter by which the robber was being led to his doom, he took him with him to the count; and when the latter naturally objected to letting loose such a reckless ruffian, thereby endangering the lives of many, Bernard promised that whereas the man had been condemned to the brief punishment of an instantaneous death he would put him

[1] Hist. of Church, vol. iv. p. 267.

[2] Lecky, Hist. of European Morals, vol. ii. pp. 94–95.

under a discipline of daily crucifixion for many years; and throwing off tunic and cowl he put them on the robber, and took him to Clairvaux, making, as the chronicler says, a lamb out of the wolf, a converted man out of the robber. The man lived in the monastery more than thirty years, justifying the name Constantius which had been given him, by his faithfulness in service, and then, as the record says, "migrated to God," who had deigned to snatch him, by the agency of Bernard, from the double death of body and of soul.[1] Such instances can hardly have been common. No doubt the peculiar intensity of Bernard's spirit gave him a power, both of rescuing and reforming, which others could not equal. But the one signal instance shows what others like him might accomplish, to make the monastery a place of resurrection for hopeless souls. One may well agree, too, with the remark of Mr. Hallam, on the right of sanctuary to accused persons which the abbey churches maintained, that while "under a due administration of justice this privilege would have been simply and constantly mischievous, in the rapine and tumult of the Middle Ages it might as often be a shield to innocence as an immunity to crime. We can hardly regret," he adds, "in reflecting on the desolating violence which prevailed, that there should have been some green spots in the wilderness, where the feeble and the persecuted could find refuge."[2]

It is always to be remembered, also, that the missionary work which distributed the Scriptures in many lands, and carried what was then understood as the Gospel to barbarous peoples, had its centre largely in the monasteries. It was by Benedictine monks, under the lead of the abbot Augustin, that Christianity was brought to the

[1] Opera, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. ii. cap. 15, coll. 2345–46.

[2] Hist. of Middle Ages, ix. 1; vol. iii. p. 302. London ed., 1853.

Saxons in England, at the end of the sixth century, and that the foundations were there laid of those institutions, and the initial impulse was given to that ennobled spiritual life, which are the richest inheritance to-day of all the English peoples of the world. More than any actual or possible foundations of custom or charter, the two ancient copies of the Italic version of the Gospels, written in large uncial characters, preserved one in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, the other in the Library of Corpus Christi College at Cambridge, and believed to be the very copies brought to England from Gregory by Augustin, represent the basis of the political and ethical civilization in which the British empire, with all its colonies, now rejoices. The same work was carried on more widely in subsequent centuries; as by Columba at Iona, evangelizing the Picts; by Aidan, at Landisferne, carrying the Gospel throughout the north of England; by Boniface in Germany, baptizing, it is said, in twenty years, a hundred thousand converts, and dying at last, by heathen violence, with his head pillowed on a copy of the Gospels;[1] by Anschar in Denmark and Sweden; by Saint Gall in Switzerland. Not only among Celts, Teutons, and Scandinavians, was the Gospel thus preached by monks. From the Franciscan monasteries, afterwards, went missionaries to the Mohammedans, in Africa, Spain, Syria, who fronted every form of danger and of torture, and of horrible death, for the sake of their errand; and from the Nestorian seminaries others made their way through Tartary and to China.

Not such foreign missions alone engaged the monks.

[1] A touching incident is added by Ozanam: "Auprès de lui était un livre mutilé par le fer, taché de sang, et qui semblait tombé de ses mains. Il contenait plusieurs opuscules des Pères, entre lesquels un écrit de Saint Ambroise: *Du Bienfait de la mort.*" — *La Civil. chez les Francs*, tom. ii. p. 254.

They preached religion, as they understood it, in its doctrines and precepts and its Divine promises, in their own neighborhoods and countries. The order of Premonstrants, founded by Norbert at Prémontré in A. D. 1121, and which came to have a thousand monasteries, with five hundred nunneries, was especially established to unite preaching and the cure of souls with the regular monastic duties; and the mendicant orders, having no abbeys, but going everywhere to teach and preach, were for scores of years a great power for good in Christendom.[1] Even Wyckliff thought well of them till his advancing doctrinal views brought him to sharp collision with their teaching.

I may not weary your attention with other particulars, showing the variety, and the frequently signal beneficence, of the work which went on in and around the better class of the mediæval monasteries. My aim has not been to set this at large and fully before you, for which volumes would be needed, but only to indicate some of the facts which made monastic life, as it was at that time, peculiarly attractive to Bernard, and to others of his temper, as well as to multitudes of humbler and ruder men. I have done this at greater length because the modern conception of ancient monasteries is often obscure, or essentially grotesque, making it difficult to associate with them one like Bernard. It is important to remember, therefore, that the convent life was not one of indolence; while the monk was subject to a rule of which even so cautious and confirmed a Protestant as Guizot has said that it made life humane and moderate, more so than either the laws or customs prevailing outside; that "they were governed by an authority, take it altogether, more reasonable, and exercised in a manner

[1] See Neander, Hist. of Church, vol. iv. pp. 276–279.

less severe, than they would have found in civil society."[1] The strongest personal attachments often grew up among them, as of Anselm to Osbern, whom he besought to appear to him after death if it were possible, whom he thought that he had thus seen, and of whom he wrote to his friends that the soul of Osbern was as his own, and that if they loved him, they must never forget his friend;[2] as of Adelmann to Berengar, which survived years and sharp doctrinal differences, and recalled still the delightful conversations which they had had in youth, when walking in the garden at eventide with their teacher, who spoke to them of the heavenly country.[3] A practical democracy existed in the monasteries, where all the monks elected the abbot whom they were afterward to obey, and where the distinctions of rank prevailing in the world had entirely disappeared, noble and vassal working together, the count and the ploughman side by side. This was a fact fruitful of consequences. Such an established, organized, Christian Socialism had to do with all history. When men were confessedly equal before God, it was not surprising that after a time a larger measure of equality should be secured before the Law, or even that the great instrument of Magna Charta, with its careful and controlling defences of liberty, should have had for its first witness Stephen Langton, the illustrious archbishop.[4]

[1] Civil. en France, leçon xiv. tom. i. p. 394. Paris ed., 1846.

[2] Eadmer, De Vita, 4, c. D. ; epist. Anselmi, v. vii. *et al.*

[3] Neander, Hist. of Church, vol. iii. pp. 502–503.

[4] While the first care was to secure the liberty of the Church in Magna Charta, with the privileges of the Barons, it is evident that the welfare of all classes was regarded, no distinction being made in this respect between Norman and Saxon, baron, freeholder, merchant, townsman; even the villein having recognition.

Quare volumus et firmiter præcipimus, quod Anglicana Ecclesia libera

When the monk was sick, too, special arrangements were made for his comfort; and when he was old, as appears for example from Ingulphus' account of Croyland, a chamber was assigned him in the infirmary, with a servant to wait on him, and a companion daily appointed. He could go in and out at his pleasure; nothing unpleasant in the monastery was to be talked of before him; and the general rule was that "nobody shall vex him about anything, but in perfect peace and quietness of mind he shall wait for his end." [1]

I submit that it need occasion no wonder that men loved their monasteries, in those wild and fierce ages, with a quite peculiar fondness of affection; that they sought them eagerly, were most unwilling to leave them. Thus a young novice wrote from Clairvaux, with an enthusiasm which we cannot, I think, wholly fail to understand: "Although, so far as location is concerned, it is situated in a valley, its foundations are on the holy mountains, which the Lord loveth more than all the dwellings of Jacob. Glorious things are spoken of it, because in it the glorious and wonderful God works glorious wonders. There those long insane return to reason, and though the outer man perishes, the inner is renewed. There the proud are humbled, and the rich become poor; there the poor hear the Gospel, and the gloom of the sinful is changed into light. To this house a great multitude of the blessed poor come from the ends of the earth, assembled from different regions and peoples; yet have they one spirit and one mind. They have

sit, et quod omnes homines de regno nostro habeant et teneant omnes libertates præfatas, jura, et consuetudines bene et in pace, libere et quiete, plene et integre, sibi et hæredibus suis, de nobis et hæredibus nostris, in omnibus rebus et locis, in perpetuum, ut prædictum est. — *Mag. Chart.*, cap. 62.

[1] Chronicle of Croydon, A. D. 974; "Decrees of Turketul."

found at Clairvaux the ladder of Jacob, with angels on it, some descending to provide for their bodies that they faint not by the way; some ascending, who so guide their souls that hereafter even their bodies shall be glorified with these. The more attentively I watch from day to day these so poor in their happy life, the more fully do I believe them to follow Christ in all things, and to show themselves true ministers of God. While I watch them at the daily services, and in the nightly vigils from before midnight until the dawn, with brief interval, so holily and unweariedly singing, they seem to me little less than angels, much more than men. Some of them I understand to have been bishops, others counts, or men eminent by other dignities and by great knowledge; some have been illustrious youth; but now, by the grace of God, all acceptation of persons being dead among them, by as much as any one has thought himself higher in the world, by so much does he hold himself less than the least in this flock, and in all things more lowly. I see them in the gardens with the hoe, in the meadows with fork and rake, in the fields with the sickle, in the forest with the axe, in other places of labor with other implements, and while I remember what they have been and consider their present station, work, instruments, their mean and ill-made clothes, though to the outward eye they may seem not so much men as a stupid class, mute and speechless, the sound and trustworthy discernment of my heart assures me that their life is hid with Christ in the heavens." One is not surprised that he closes his long letter with saying, "Farewell! God willing, on the next Sunday after Ascension Day I shall put on the armor of my profession as a monk."[1]

[1] Opera S. Bern. vol prim., epist. cdlxxix. from Peter de Roya, Novice, coll. 805–813.

Bernard himself always left his abbey with sore regret, and only as pulled away from it by imperious exigencies of public affairs. He thought of it in his absence with anxious affection and eager desire, and returned to it, from whatever scenes of honor and applause, with the deepest delight. It was to him the "beloved Jerusalem." After cities like Milan had almost fought to make him their archbishop; after stubborn princes had been smitten before him into prostrate submission; after cardinals had hated him because his power with the Pontiff surpassed their own; after miracles, even, in long series, had seemed to attend his triumphing steps, — he came back, not merely to preach daily sermons to the monks, but to take his part in preparing dinners and washing the kitchen plates and vessels, to look after the poultry, to number the pigs, and to grease his own shoes.[1] The greatest difficulty which he met in sending colonies from Clairvaux came from the reluctance of monks to leave it. From more fertile valleys, and more

[1] Quo nimirum intuitu vitam regulamque communem amplius æmulabatur, nil in suis actibus præferens observantiæ singularis. . . . Sic autem fuit ab initio spiritu validus, corpore infirmus; nil tamen indulgentiæ circa corporis quietem seu refectionem, nil remissionis de communi labore vel opere fieri sibi aliquando acquiescens. . . . Ubi vero vires deficiebant, ad viliora quæque opera confugiens, laborem humilitate recompensabat. — *Vita*, ii. cap. 10, vol. sec. coll. 2426-27.

Beatus Bernardus cum esset die quadam in cella sua cum paucis discipulis, et ungeret sandalia sua secundum consuetudinem suam, apparuit ei diabolus in similitudinem monachi nigri, dicens ei: "Abba, quomodo te habes? Ego de longinquis terris veni ut te viderem, et te calceos ungentem invenio." Cui respondit vir Dei: "Ego servos non habeo, nec volui unquam habere. . . . Imitando igitur Dominum meum, vilia et servilia opera pro amore ipsius exsequi non tantum non gravat, sed et plurimum delectat." — *Vita*, iv. lib. 2, 16, col. 2508.

His rebuke to the monk who neglected to wash the pots in the kitchen when his weekly turn came is in the same column: "Fili, adeo negligens es, ubi majorem deberes habere diligentiam."

genial skies, they incessantly longed to get back thither; and one of his severest letters was written from Italy to a poor disciple who had been sent as abbot to the convent at Igny, but who was so homesick for Clairvaux that he gave up his place of honor and trust to return where his heart was. "The Almighty God spare thee!" says Bernard. "What is this that thou art set upon doing? Who would have believed that thou wouldst have rushed into this great wrong, a man endowed with so much goodness! How is it that a good tree brings forth from itself such detestable fruit?" He beseeches him, by Him who was crucified for him, to return to his work, and not add sadness upon sadness to one who already has enough on his heart.[1] The rebuked Humbert was not alone in his sense of exile. Eugenius Third, who had been a monk in the beautiful valley, went from it with tears to assume the duties and the dignities of the pontificate at Rome.[2]

Of course a monastery so helpful and so beloved continually increased in numbers and in fame. Eager applicants for admission flocked to it from all quarters, a hundred at a time, and it became necessary to rebuild it on a much larger scale.[3] Before the representations

[1] Epist. cxli. ad Humbertum, vol. prim. col. 350.

[2] Alloquitur fratres non sine lacrymis, miscens sermonibus avulsa a corde suspiria, hortatur et consolatur, et se inter eos fratrem et socium, non dominum exhibet, vel magistrum. Vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. ii. col. 2182.

[3] Opera, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. ii. col. 2165.

Dans la première classe [of the inspiring heads of monastic orders] se trouve l'illustre S. Bernard, dont l'exemple pouvoit seul suffire à faire aimer toutes les sciences ecclésiastiques, et servir de modèle à les porter à un certain point de perfection. Il étoit effectivement, comme tout le monde sçait, Orateur, Théologien, Canoniste, et l'homme de son siècle qui possédât mieux l'Ecriture, et les Pères de l'Église, surtout S. Augustin, et qui fût plus instruit des règles de la Morale. À S. Bernard on pourroit

made to him to this effect, Bernard hesitated long, but at last he yielded, and the work was soon done. Spontaneous contributions flowed in abundantly, from the Count of Champagne, from the bishops around, from distinguished persons, and from merchants; the brother monks engaged in the work with joyful alacrity, cutting the logs, quarrying and squaring the stone and building it into walls, separating the stream into runlets by canals, until the work was finished, and, as the chronicler says, "the house arose, and the church, lately born, as if it had had a living and a moving soul, grew shortly to its completeness."[1] It was a beautiful scene which then was presented, with the grand pile of the abbey and its large subordinate buildings, overlooking a landscape of rich and various pastoral beauty, all protected by an authority greater than any which arms could offer; to those who dwelt in it a home of sacred pleasure and peace. Many colonies went from it, a hundred and sixty in Bernard's own life. The "Fountains' Abbey," so called, in Yorkshire, England, whose remains in their venerable beauty, with the ancient yew-trees and the admirable site, still attract travellers, was one of these offshoots. It is at least not impossible that the name "Fontaines' Abbey" should rather be given it, not so much for the springs on the spot, as in affectionate remembrance

joindre quelques-uns des plus célèbres Écrivains, entre cette multitude que produisit dans le cours de ce siècle l'Ordre de Cisteaux." Among these are mentioned Conrad, son of the Duke of Bavaria; Estienne, a renowned teacher in France; Alexandre, a famous Doctor of Cologne, afterward abbot of Clairvaux; Hugh, surnamed de Flavigni. And the historian adds: "Mais ils suffisent pour faire juger, que s'il étoit possible de recueillir tous les autres qui les imitèrent, soit en choisissant la même solitude, ou les autres Maisons de l'Ordre, le nombre en seroit prodigieux." Hist. Littér. tom. ix. pp. 122–123. Paris ed., 1750.

[1] Opera, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. ii. coll. 2165–66.

of the birth-place of Bernard.[1] Others were in Spain, Holland, Ireland, Germany, Saxony, Hungary, Sweden, Denmark, as well as in France. In the end there are said to have been eight hundred abbeys thus affiliated with Clairvaux, and adopting from it the rule of Citeaux. The mighty impulse to such rapid multiplication of the associated institutions came from Bernard, while his own monastery had within it at his death seven hundred monks.

Almost better than any other he exemplified whatever was morally fruitful in the monastic life, and overcame the dangers incident to it. To the laziness and the lust by which its rules were sometimes broken, in after years with increasing frequency, we cannot even conceive him tempted. It were as easy to think of bloody blotches on the sunshine. Even the more impalpable dangers, against which the wise had to be on their guard, seem not to have touched him. That there were such we abundantly know. Ambition for individual distinction was as easy to monks as to soldiers or statesmen. A certain cynical spiritual pride was sometimes fostered by their recluse life. A wild enthusiasm, alternating

[1] The tall tower, looking at a little distance as if belonging to a cathedral, is still in good preservation, but as you come nearer you find that all the rest of the spacious church is a mass of most picturesque ruin, with large trees growing in the nave, and ivy and wild flowers festooning the old Norman pillars and the beautiful lancet-shaped windows. The cloisters are very extensive, and still preserve their roofs, so that you walk through their whole range and look out through the windows at a beautiful stream which murmurs along among the ruins, and at twilight or moonlight it would not require a violent imagination to picture the forms of hooded monks stalking through the cloisters, or to hear a midnight mass pealing from the ruined choir of the beautiful chapel. . . . I shall say nothing further of this exquisite ruin, save to repeat that it is far the most impressive one that I have ever seen, and much more beautiful than Melrose Abbey. — *Correspondence of J. L. Motley*, vol. i. p. 350.

dismal sceptical doubts, by turns excited and manacled the spirit; and utter despair was not unfrequently the natural effect of mental reaction against their limitations, and of excessive self-contemplation. Always, of course, there was danger of that hypocritical temper which pretends to an unreal sanctity, and to which the abbey offered dangerous encouragement; while envies, jealousies, suspicions, animosities, sometimes fierce and fatal hatreds, were by no means excluded from the monastery grounds, but grew there sometimes the more rankly because men had to dwell together in a confined, inelastic companionship.

A text which has been occasionally quoted, as interpreting and justifying the impulse to monachism, is found in the first verse of the eighteenth chapter of Proverbs, which has been thus read: "Through desire a man having separated himself seeketh and intermeddleth with all wisdom." Unfortunately, the better translation is found to be: "He that separateth himself seeketh his own desire, and rageth against all wise counsel." This was as true in the twelfth Christian century as it had been when written; and one studying the long monastic story cannot but feel that a careful analysis of the various disbeliefs, and of the manifold and sometimes desperate spiritual maladies, which appeared in the convents, would make an even sadder record than that of the foulness of sensual vice which is often held their chief reproach; while it was evidently true, as the abbot Joachim said, himself familiar with the Cistercian abbeys, that if a monk became wicked, no creature on earth was more ambitious and covetous than he.[1] He was not merely blackened in repute by the contrast of his life with his profession, he fell to a profounder depth because of the

[1] See Neander, Hist. of Church, vol. iv. p. 244, note.

height of his earlier aim; and there was thereafter no fresh power of renovation to act upon him, such as might have been found in a freer and wider external life. He put himself almost beyond the pale of redemption; and the figures cut into cornices, capitals, and gargoyles of cathedrals not unfrequently show the vivid contemporaneous artistic recognition of the hideous viciousness of spirit and life which was partly hidden, but not effectually, beneath the cowl. It was not without reason that Fra Angelico, himself a monk, painted monks among the lost, or that Dante put some of them into the terrible panorama of the Inferno.

But from these dangers, even the subtlest, Bernard was preserved, not only by the grace of God in his sincere and ardent soul, but by his assiduous study of the Scripture, and by the multitudinous activities, within the convent and beyond it, which constantly engaged him. His was certainly never that "fugitive and cloistered virtue" which Milton reproved, "unexercised and unbreathed; that never sallies out and sees the adversary, but slinks out of the race, where the immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat." When at home he preached every day, besides taking his faithful part in the customary labors. He wrote treatises, rich in the products of careful reflection, and with passages of remarkable beauty and power, as well as of high spiritual thought. His letter-writing was constant, of vast extent and variety, often concerning the gravest matters. Nearly five hundred of his letters are preserved. They were addressed to men of all classes and conditions, and on all sorts of subjects, from the highest themes of truth, duty, and Christian experience, to the humblest particulars of familiar affairs and of rustic economy. He wrote to the poor and obscure more largely than to

princes, sending letters of a dozen lines to the King of England, and of ten times as many pages to some weak monk who needed his counsel.[1] His visitors were many, and of the most distinguished of the time. His care of the monasteries affiliated with his own was incessantly watchful. His utmost energy was called for, and was exerted, in the successive crises which confronted him, in the Church, and in the State; and nothing seems to have occurred in France, or in other related countries, during the last thirty years of his life, concerning directly or indirectly the honor and interest of religion, which was not brought to his personal notice, on which his governing practical genius was not at once intensely busy.

So it was that that life in the monastery to which he had been devoted by his mother, and to which he had given himself with fervent consecration in his impassioned and brilliant youth, continued to be to him a joy and a reward, even to the end. He was permitted to end his days in the beautiful valley which he and his companions had rescued and redeemed from the forest and the swamp, and had turned into a home of culture and peace, of hospitality to the poor, of a solemn but to them a lovely religious service, which was never interrupted. The last sounds in his ears on earth were the voices of those whom he loved and had taught, bewailing his death, while still pursuing their daily worship. The last faces on which his eye rested were of men whom he had sheltered, guided, blessed. I do not imagine that he had the least thought of any fame to come to him in the world. Every traveller must have noticed at the Chartreuse, in the ancient Dauphiné, that when a monk has died the only memorial erected over him is a frail cross of

[1] Comp. epist. xcii. and cxxxviii. with ii., vii., *et al.*

lath, which the wind and the storm will swiftly destroy. The feeling beneath the custom evidently is that the man's only relations are to be thenceforth with the world of spirits, and that it is of no importance whatever that any record of him remain among men. Undoubtedly, that was the feeling of Bernard. It must have been a matter to him of supreme indifference whether men ever should hear of him or not. His only wish was to be able to say, in penitent humility, as his Master had said before him, "I have finished the work which Thou gavest me to do."

A great fame has followed him, however, and it will not fail or be forgotten as the centuries pass. He certainly fulfilled the description of a great man given by Cousin,[1] representing what was noblest in the spirit of his age, while associating it profoundly with what was peculiar in his intense individuality. The monastery of Clairvaux, which was his immediate monument, has passed from existence; the many abbeys affiliated with it are generally in ruins, are all no doubt in hopeless decadence. The large influence which he left upon Europe has ceased to be distinguishable, save as one of the commingling elements out of which our civilization has come. But his soon canonized name has shone starlike in history ever since he was buried; and it will not hereafter decline from its height, or lose its lustre, while men continue to recognize with honor the temper of devoted Christian consecration, a character compact of noblest forces, and infused with self-forgetful love for God and man.

[1] Le grand homme n'est donc tel qu'à la double condition d'être pénétré de l'esprit général de son peuple, et en même temps de représenter cet esprit général sous une forme profondément individuelle ; tout cela dans cette juste mesure, qui est la marque de la vraie grandeur humaine. — *Introd. à l'Histoire de la Philosophie*, p. 204. Paris ed., 1868.

But I do not conceive that anything of this was in his thoughts as he drew toward death, and as the great shadow, illuminated with promise, and shot through with Ascension splendors, fell on his face. He died, as he had lived, a devout believer, humble, trustful, hopeful, faithful; not regretting the earth, expecting heaven; and I am as certain as of anything not involved in my experience that in that hour, more even than ever before, he gave thanks to God who had moved him by His Spirit, and led him by His providence, and pressed him by his mother's inspirations, to accept and pursue in those wild times the holy contemplations, the studious self-discipline, the labors of charity, the large and manifold beneficent activities, which belonged under him to the Life Monastic.

LECTURE V.

BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX: AS A THEOLOGIAN.

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If I were not profoundly assured of the culture and kindness, and the responsive Christian sensibility, of the audience which I have the honor to address, I should shrink from attempting to present this evening, in even a rapid synoptical way, the methods and results represented in the theology of Bernard. A subject less suited to what is known as a "popular lecture" can hardly be named; and while I hope that you may be interested in what I shall hereafter say of his work as a preacher, of his controversy with Abélard, or of his general influence upon Europe, I am unfeignedly diffident in asking your attention to his particular theological scheme. In parts, at least, this lies so far from the familiar lines of thought in our day that probably none of us would be ready to accept it without large reservations; and while in many things he who held it cannot but seem to us like one of ourselves, only with grander endowment of powers, and with a finer and higher spirit, in this he may seem to be widely and essentially distanced from us, dwelling in a realm of customary thought with which our minds are unacquainted.

But of course no view of him could be even approximately complete which should not present, in outline at least, the system of religious thought which was vital

and inspiring to his mind; and it cannot be without interest, or I hope without profit, for us to consider it. We are always glad to see the houses in which great men have lived, though we may not care to inhabit them ourselves; and no system of speculative thought, on the highest themes, which was dear and sacred to one like Bernard, can fail to command our honoring regard. The architecture which builds ideas into systems is certainly grander, and properly more memorable, than that which turns timbers and stones into houses. The personal attachments which cleave to such systems, and the influences which fall from them, are more intimate and essential than belong to any material structure; and when they have quickened great impulses, nurtured grand characters, been the instruments of mighty effects, we ought to learn if we may the secrets of their power, to get at least some positive impression of the charm which either of them had to him whose mind dwelt lovingly within it. So it is not with hesitation, except through doubt of my ability to open it clearly and largely enough, that I ask you to walk awhile with me in the stately corridors of that special scheme of theological thought which was supreme to the mind of Bernard, — surveying its proportions, considering the relations of its principal parts, and seeing the tinted and mullioned windows through which the light from above streamed in. Both the man and his work will certainly thus become better understood. It is not impossible that we shall more clearly apprehend the power which belonged to the Church in which he was recognized as "the last of the Fathers," and which later enrolled him among its saints.

It is needful at the outset to dismiss from our minds any lingering impression that the century which saw his

public career was one of intellectual stagnation, in which thought was dead, or in which discussions of even principal questions were unknown or uncommon. On the other hand, discussion was active and wide, and was relatively free; and the germs at least, or initial developments, of great theological and philosophical tendencies, which in subsequent centuries came to full exhibition, were already apparent. It is a fair measure of the activity of cultivated thought at that time in Europe, as compared with the previous centuries, that while a hundred and seventy-seven noticeable writers are reckoned as belonging to the ninth century, only eighty-four to the tenth, only a hundred and fifty to the eleventh, to the twelfth, the century of Bernard, belong two hundred and fifty-nine.[1] Of course all discussions of matters of importance were conducted in the Latin language, the language of laws and public documents, the language made familiar through the offices of the Church, and largely employed in letters, or even in conversation, among the better instructed.[2] The forms of such discussion were therefore scholastic; and the people found

[1] See Dr. H. B. Smith's "Chronological Tables," table vii. p. 36.

[2] Inter hæc tamen non extincta omnino Latina Lingua, licet in senium quodammodo abierit, totque etiam barbararum gentium colluvies hanc vel deturparit, vel absumpserit, cum neque post hac amplius usu hominum frequentaretur; hanc enim qui in literis utcumque versati fuere, vel sacris ordinibus initiati, ut rerum Ecclesiasticarum studiis necessariam excoluerunt. . . . Id porro non minime ad Latinæ Linguæ commendationem conducit, quod inter tot barbararum gentium ubique fere terrarum quasi exundationes se se utcumque servarit incolumem; ita ut Romana Ecclesia propriam sibi effecerit, et cæteræ nationes, etiam remotissimæ, et quas Romani nunquam attigerant, non in Scholis modo publicis, verum etiam in actis fere omnibus ea usi legantur. . . . Atque id quidem in Gallia nostra sic obtinuit, ut et acta publica ac privata pleraque, et suprema Curiarum judicia, Latino fere idiomate semper describerentur, quod serius delitum Francisco I. regnante. — Du Cange: *Præf. Gloss. Man.* § 35.

no expression for their thought unless dissenting wholly from the doctrines of the Church, refusing its liturgy, and resuming the liberty of their native tongue; as one of the most important memorials showing the early character of the Romance dialect, is a document of the Albigenses in the ninth century.[1] Of course, too, at that time, three centuries before the moveable type gave wings to words and opened the way for the instant utterance of any thought by any thinker, the number of those among the educated who took an important part in such discussions was always limited, that general and rapid comparison of views which now goes on being impossible.

But while these things are true it is true, also, that the period intervening between the commencement of the ninth and the close of the fifteenth centuries was pre-eminently the period in the Western Church for the articulation and systematic distribution of theological doctrine. That Church was no longer powerfully affected by the Eastern communions. It was left to organize doctrine for itself; and in the absence of impulse or key to the large and progressive exploration of nature, the mental and moral activity of the time turned, perhaps superabundantly, in this direction.[2] At that time, too, many questions were still un-

[1] "Après les serments de 842, un des plus anciens monuments de la langue romane, c'est la Noble Leçon des Vaudois, pieuse et simple paraphrase de maximes évangéliques. Là, rien n'indique absolument une hérésie dogmatique; mais on sent un esprit de libre examen et de conscience individuelle. Ces maximes sévères, cette morale pure, cette religion simple et s'exprimant en langue vulgaire, étaient communes à un grand nombre d'habitants du diocèse d'Albi; d'où vint le nom d'Albigeois." — VILLEMAIN: *Tableau de la Litt. au Moyen Age*, tom. i. p. 167, leçon vi. Paris ed., 1882.

[2] Les lettres latines furent cultivées avec soin dans les monastères anglais; et la théologie servit à ranimer le goût de l'étude. C'est une

determined by dogmatic decisions of the Church, which among Roman Catholics, at least since the Council of Trent, have no longer offered a field for discussion. The doctrine of Transubstantiation, for example, was not definitively settled for that communion until the Lateran Council of A. D. 1215. It was not, indeed, until the Synod of Vienne, A. D. 1311, that the doctrine was expressed in liturgical form, and the sacrifice of the Mass made the dominant centre of the Catholic ritual. That the sacraments of the Church were properly seven in number is said often to have been first publicly suggested by Otto of Bamberg, in or after the middle of the twelfth century;[1] and while a constantly increasing veneration

réponse à l'opinion de ceux qui ont regardé le règne de la théologie dans le moyen âge comme une époque perdue pour l'intelligence humaine. La théologie a été la forme que prenait alors la pensée. De même que, dans un autre temps, toutes les idées se traduiront en idées politiques, et s'appliqueront aux grands problèmes de la société; ainsi, dans le moyen âge, les esprits se faisant une occupation à la fois plus subtile et plus désintéressé, toutes les idées, toutes les forces du raisonnement s'appliquaient à la vie future. Mais par cela même que cette occupation toute métaphysique avait quelque chose de vague et d'incertain, elle avait aussi quelque chose de grand, de hardi, de singulièrement favorable à l'élévation et à l'originalité de la pensée. Ne vous étonnez donc pas que sous cet amas théologique on trouve parfois une étonnante sagacité, un grand esprit stérilement consumé. Le théologien d'une époque eût été le philosophe d'une autre. — VILLEMAIN: *Tableau de la Littérature au Moyen Age*, tom. ii. pp. 152–153. Paris ed., 1882.

[1] As late as the present period [age of Systematic Theology] the opinions of the theologians on this point [the number of the sacraments] were for a considerable time divided. Rabanus Maurus and Paschasius Radbertus acknowledged only four sacraments, or, more properly speaking, only the two sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper [adding the Chrisma to Baptism, and dividing the Supper according to its two elements]. . . . Peter Damiani mentioned as many as twelve sacraments. Whether Otto, Bishop of Bamberg, introduced the seven sacraments among the Pomeranians is a point which remains to be investigated. The views of Peter Lombard on the subject were more decided. [He distinctly enumerates Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unc-

was paid to the Virgin Mary, the doctrine of her Immaculate Conception, without stain of original sin, which has now been declared an article of faith, was then earnestly, and for a long time successfully, resisted.

Indeed, the judgment of the Pontiff, the judgment of Church-councils, on points which had been presented for settlement, were held by many to be properly subject to subsequent discussion, and a different decision. The English Bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grostête, preaching before the Papal Court at Lyons, A. D. 1250, a century later than Bernard, declared that when a pope is moved to do what is contrary to the precept and will of Christ, he who obeys him separates from Christ and from His body; and that whenever a universal obedience shall be paid to him in such things the universal apostacy will have come. The Pope, naturally enraged by such boldness of language, desired to displace and punish the bishop, but was unable to do it.[1] So William of St. Amour, Doctor of Theology in the Paris University, writing against the mendicant orders, A. D. 1255, did not

tion, Ordination, and Marriage.] Hagenbach's Hist. Christ. Doct., ii. p. 321–322. Edinburgh ed.

[1] Matthew Paris gives a letter written by the bishop to the Pope a little later, A. D. 1253, the freedom of which will appear from a few sentences: "Apostolica enim mandata non sunt nec esse possunt alia quam Apostolorum doctrinæ et Ipsius Domini nostri Jesu Christi. . . . Non est igitur prædictæ literæ tenor Apostolicæ sanctitati consonus, sed absonus plurimum et discors. . . . Hoc enim esset suæ potestatis evidenter sanctissimæ et plenissimæ vel defectio vel corruptio vel abusio, et a throno gloriæ Domini nostri Jesu Christi omnimoda elongatio, et in cathedra pestilentiæ pœnarum gehennalium duobus prædictis tenebrarum principibus proxima coassessio. Nec potest quis immaculata et sincera obedientia eidem sedi subditus et fidelis . . . hujusmodi mandatis vel præceptis vel quibuscunque conaminibus undecunque emanantibus, optemperare; sed necesse habet totis viribus contradicere et rebellare." The historian adds that the Pope was infuriated, but was dissuaded by the shrewder cardinals from pursuing the matter. — *Chronica Majora*, A. D. 1253.

hesitate to say that though their mode of life had been erroneously authorized by the Church, while in fact at variance with the Gospel, such judgment should be revoked, as the truth had now become better known, and as the judgment of the Roman Church was liable to correction. His book was condemned by the Pontiff, and he was constrained to resign his office, and to go into retirement in Burgundy; but he was reconciled with the successor of the then reigning Pope, and his bold declaration of the fallibility of the Church excited no general indignation.[1] There was thus a wider field in matters of theology open then for discussion than there has been in recent centuries in the Roman communion; and it was in great measure from the labors of those who then set forth and maintained their opinions that the subsequent authoritative dogmatic decisions, declaring against these opinions or for them, took occasion and form.

Even as early as the latter half of the ninth century had appeared a really revolutionary activity on the part of some, searching into, scrutinizing, and sharply reshaping the commonly received doctrines of the Church in regard to questions fundamental. Of this, John Scotus Erigena, at the court of Charles the Bald, is the palmary example. Surpassing, probably, every one of his time, if not all in the presently following centuries, in the audacity and the range of his genius, he reached novel conclusions with a rapid boldness which would seem incredible if the facts were not certain. A master of the Greek language, and familiar with the writings of the Greek Fathers as well as of the Latin, deeply impressed by his study of Origen, and of the Pseudo-Dionysius, the writings attributed to whom he had translated, a Neo-

[1] See Neander, Hist. of Church, vol. iv. pp. 283–289.

Platonist in his philospohical tendencies, he elaborated a scheme substantially pantheistic, though modified by the influence of his early belief in a personal God and in the Scriptures. He insisted that religion must justify itself to the reason of man, and that authority is properly insufficient to support it. In the rational consciousness of man was his ultimate source of religious knowledge. The absolute Being, in his view, transcends all representation, is by nature incomprehensible. The Scriptural account of God is a symbolic representation, adapted to the succor of human weakness. Religion is philosophy, veiled in traditions with which the higher minds dispense. The statements that God loves or can be loved, acts or can be acted upon, are but relatively true, a condescension to human infirmity. God alone is, eternal and inexpressible; and true being in everything is God. Evil is therefore only apparent, the background on which the lustre of goodness is displayed. The conception of it arises from contemplation of particulars, instead of the whole. What is called sin is a transition-point in human experience, through which men pass into final union with the Divine archetype. It is a self-abolishing principle, which for God has no existence. He does not punish it, but so constitutes the order of things that it punishes itself. The Scriptural report of its punishment is figurative, and the belief in such punishment is a human prejudice. Faith is a certain subjective principle, from which the conviction of the Absolute is derived in a reasonable creature; and salvation essentially consists in believing what we can rationally affirm concerning the original of all things, and in comprehending what we believe. "Father" and "Son" are names to which no corresponding distinctions exist in the Divine Essence; and the eucharist is a sym-

bolic memorial of Christ's death. Of any papal infallibility he seems to have had no thought whatever.

It may naturally surprise us that doctrines like these could be enunciated in France, in the presence of the hierarchy, in the last half of the ninth century. But they were largely protected by their novelty, and by the failure of officials to recognize their meaning, or to see how destructive to the whole Church-system their tendencies were. If their author had written in the Gaelic or the Coptic dialect the continental ecclesiastics would almost equally have understood what he wrote. It simply surpassed the apprehension of the time, was wholly beyond its sphere of thought; and though antagonists appeared, and his writings were at a later time pontifically condemned,[1] he seems to have remained in personal security, and at last to have died in peace. But, in fact, the whole energy of a rationalizing scholasticism, acting upon theological opinion as a dissolving and recasting force, had prophetically appeared in him. He would probably have had disciples and successors in the same line of thought, in the following century, if it had not been a period of such universal turbulence and decay. He did have them subsequently, as partly in Almaric, or David of Dinanto. But in the slow development of history he stands before us alone in his time; an enigmatic man; coming as unexpectedly as a meteor bursting in the air. As sometimes out of January darkness and chill a shining day sallies to meet us, as if to assure us that summer is coming, so he appears, a vivid herald of the freedom in thought, the energetic and daring speculative genius, which, after centuries of tempestuous chill and the echoing whirl of social storms,

[1] His tract on the eucharist was condemned at Rome, and ordered to be burned A. D. 1059.

were again to be seen in Europe. His results we may none of us, probably, accept. His immense and intrepid mental activity we cannot but honor.[1]

The discussion started in the same century by Gottschalk, a monk educated at Fulda, on the twofold Pre-

[1] The impression made by this extraordinary writer has always been powerful, but has varied naturally with the temper of his readers: —

"Ceux qui ont mieux connu Scot, avouent à la vérité qu'il avoit de l'érudition, mais une érudition toute profane. Qu'au reste ce n'étoit dans le fond qu'un Sophiste plein de subtilité et de hardiesse; un grand Discoureur, qui par l'étalage de ses vains discours avoit séduit grand nombre de personnes." — *Hist. Litt.*, tom. v. p. 417. [This judgment is an echo of the statement of Flore Diacre, p. 229, who wrote in reply to Erigena.]

The emphatic yet temperate words of Dr. Christlieb will commend themselves to most: "Dass die Universalität seines Geistes, durch die er als Theolog und Philosoph, als Homilet, Exeget, Uebersetzer und sogar als Dichter auftreten konnte, sein scharfer Verstand, seine überlegene dialektische Gewandtheit, seine vielgepriesene Beredtsamkeit, seine damals wohl beispiellose Gelehrsamkeit, und besonders seine Kenntniss der griechischen Sprache und Literatur bei allen, die ihm nahe standen, oder ihn aus seinen Schriften kennen zu lernen sich die Mühe nahmen, die grösste Bewunderung erregen musste und noch muss, mag die Darstellung seiner Lehre beweisen; sie wird ihm auch von der Mehrzahl der alten Geschichtschreiber nicht verweigert; musste doch selbst Papst Nicolaus anerkennen, dass E. multæ scientiæ esse prædicatur." — *Leben und Lehre des J. Scotus Erigena.* Gotha, 1860. S. 59.

"Jean Scot avait puisé dans ce commerce [translating Dionysius] une foule d'idées depuis longtemps perdues en Europe et qui parurent bien nouvelles lorsqu'il les produisit dans ses deux ouvrages. Comme ses idées n'avaient de racines ni dans les études ni dans les tendances du temps, elles l'étonnèrent plus qu'elles ne l'intruisirent, et de nos jours elles ont ébloui ceux qui n'en connaissaient pas l'origine. Jean Scot n'est point un profond métaphysicien, comme on le croit en Allemagne, c'est tout simplement un Alexandrin attardé, qui aurait dû naître trois ou quatre siècles plus tôt ou plus tard." — COUSIN: *Hist. Gén. de la Philosophie*, p. 222. Paris ed., 1867.

Ritter says of him: "He stands as an enigma among the many riddles which these times present." See also Hagenbach, Hist. of Doct., ii. 117.

For some illustrations of his general scheme of thought see Appendix A, p. 348.

destination, to evil as to good, moved of course within narrower lines, and exhibited far less of brilliancy of mind and discursive power, though Erigena took an active part in it; but it showed, at least in him by whom it was commenced, and in those who continued it, — whether agreeing with him, or encountering him with the higher idea of universality in the august provisions of Redemption, — how active thought was in important directions, and how capable was the mind of the time of being stirred by questions which touch the equities of the Divine government, and which can never be fully answered till we can compass Eternal counsels.

The same thing appears from the later controversy in which Berengar of Tours, to whom I have already referred, became a principal figure, which concerned the real presence of Christ in the elements of the Supper. As head of the Cathedral school in his native city, Berengar had attracted many pupils, and had acquired large influence with them by his various learning, his amiable piety, his courtesy of manner, and his spirit of mental independence. Somewhere about the middle of the eleventh century he began to teach that not the true body and blood of Christ, but only their symbols, are in the eucharist. He insisted that not Erigena only, but Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose had held this doctrine, and were heretics with himself if this were heretical. Under constraint of an adverse judgment of the Pope and a Council, and in fear for his life, he recanted his opinions. But he subsequently again proclaimed them widely, and exercised great liberty of speech as against the Church rulers, declaring that Leo Ninth had shown himself a fool in this matter as in others, that he was a Pompifex, not a Pontifex, and that the Roman Church

was not an apostolic see, but a seat of Satan.[1] The minority of disciples, however small, holding the truth, he declared to constitute the true Church, and not the multitude of the undiscerning. Gregory Seventh, whether as cardinal or as pope, seems to have been personally friendly to him; but after his final trial at a Synod in Rome, he retired to a solitary life, and died at an advanced age three years before Bernard was born.

He could not, of course, accomplish much against the strong currents of Church opinion by which he was beset, and he had neither the genius of Erigena nor the undaunted boldness of Gottschalk, though he seems in the main to have fought a good fight. The doctrine of Transubstantiation was once described by John Selden as "only Rhetoric turned into Logic."[2] But it had a far deeper foundation than that. It had begun in pious feeling, associating a supernatural grace with the elements of the Supper until these were transfigured. It offered a wholly transcendental conception of the nature of the eucharist, and represented to the minds which received it millions of miracles, incessantly repeated. So it drew to itself not only a sentiment of tender devoutness, but the imaginative affection and enthusiasm of those to whose thought the supernatural was near. Though at first set forth, therefore, by a single abbot, Paschasius Radbertus, as late as the year A.D. 831, it was so consonant with the feeling of the time, it blended itself so easily and so intimately with the aspiring consciousness of Christians, and it seemed to

[1] "Nempe sanctum Leonen papam, non pontificem, sed pompificem et pulpificem, appellavit. . . . Romanam sedem non apostolicam sed sedem satanæ dictis et scriptis non timuit appellare." (Letter of a contemporary, quoted by Neander, vol. iii. p. 513, note.)

[2] Table Talk, p. 255. London ed., 1860.

bring the Lord so palpably before them, that it gained an ever widening power until it became a dogma of faith. But how much Berengar could accomplish for his opinion is not the matter now before us. What we have to notice is the fact that he both thought and wrote so freely as he did; and that in the generation preceding Bernard this positive conception of a spiritual church, embracing those morally affiliated by their common reception of spiritual truth, was distinctly presented, while the Reformed doctrine of the sacraments was in essence vigorously maintained. This, of itself, suffices to show that the time was not one of mental stagnation. Rather, it was marked by fermenting forces, some of which carried men much further than Berengar had gone in divergence from the customary doctrine.

I have mentioned already the utter unbelief afterward ascribed to the German emperor, Frederick Second. Notice is taken too by Neander of a Count of Soissons, who, though outwardly recognizing the festivals of the Church, ridiculed and assailed the whole scheme of the Christian Religion, often by arguments derived from the Jews; against whom an abbot wrote a book, defending the doctrine of the Incarnation.[1] Others, distinctly disbelieved in any Resurrection; and a Bishop of Paris, A. D. 1196, ordered a card to be laid on his breast, after his death, affirming his belief in it, as a testimony to those who should view his body. In the school of theological instruction at Orléans, in the eleventh century, as I have previously noticed, an actual Gnosticism had come to be taught; and ecclesiastics prominent for benevolence, knowledge, piety, had suffered death on behalf of these opinions with a supreme courage. Similar doctrines had appeared later at Liège and Cambrai, and

[1] Neander, Hist. of the Church, vol. iv. p. 325.

still later at Turin, where the Son of God was declared to be the soul of man, enlightened and renewed; the Holy Spirit to mean the true understanding of the Scriptures; and where the Gospel history of the Lord was treated as a myth. The Catharists, the Henricians, the Petrobrusians, all widely diverging from the doctrine of the Church if not scornfully rejecting it, not only were numerous in France, but they multiplied so rapidly, especially in the South, that Bernard, going into regions affected by their opinions, found, as he said, "churches without people, peoples without priests, priests without respect paid to them, Christians without Christ; churches were regarded as synagogues, the sanctuary of God was not esteemed holy, the solemn festivals were not observed; men were dying in their sins, and called to the great final Tribunal, neither reconciled to God by penitence, nor fortified by the sacrament."[1] This naturally seemed to him a spiritual calamity, more frightful than any of pestilence or of war.

It cannot be needful to multiply examples to show how far his age was from being one of passive quiescence, or of universal acquiescence in the customary beliefs. The spirit of unrest was widely abroad; and among men of more scholarly habit, the temper of free if not sceptical inquiry exhibited by Roscelin the nominalist, and more signally by Abélard, of whom I am to speak hereafter, was coming to prominent manifestation. Yet over against these tendencies hostile to the entire

[1] Basilicæ sine plebibus, plebes sine sacerdotibus, sacerdotes sine debita reverentia sunt, et sine Christo denique Christiani. Ecclesiæ synagogæ reputantur; sanctuarium Dei sanctum esse negatur; sacramenta non sacra consentur; dies festivis frustrantur solemniis. Moriuntur homines in peccatis suis; rapiuntur animæ passim ad tribunal terrificum, heu! nec pœnitentia reconciliati, nec sancta communione muniti. — *Opera*, vol. prim. epist. ccxli. col. 506.

Church-system, was set a fresh and wide activity, in study and thought as well as in action, on the part of those who maintained the old and common faith. The fuller pulses of Church-life, which from the time of Gregory Seventh had been felt throughout the Latin communion, showed themselves here, as well as in the building of churches and monasteries, the initiation of crusades, or the missions to pagan peoples. The brain of the Church, as well as its heart, was charged with new force; and the elements of future vehement controversies were already battling in the stimulated air. The seminaries which had been established for the theological education of students, at Fulda, at Chartres, Tours, Rheims, Bec, and elsewhere, were revived and invigorated; lectures were given in exposition of the Scriptures; and the Glossa Ordinaria, the common exegetical manual of the time, was widely copied. The Irish schools, long distinguished for their relative freedom and breadth, were as active as ever; and on all sides questions of doctrine were canvassed and discussed with ardent zeal, if not always with fine or high intelligence.

The foundation of the Universities occurred at this time; the abbot of Croyland, as I have said, commencing that at Cambridge, in a barn, in A. D. 1110; that at Oxford having begun, probably, a little earlier, in the schools of its religious houses, but now coming to fresh importance, especially in connection with the instruction in the Scriptures given there by Robert Pullein, a man English-born but educated in France, and afterward a distinguished theologian and cardinal.[1] The primary impulse to the University of Paris came in the same period, from the famous lectures of William of Champeaux; and Anselm, who finished his illustrious

[1] His lectures began there A. D. 1133.

career in A. D. 1109, Peter Lombard, who was contemporaneous with Bernard, Hugo of St. Victoire, called afterward "the Second Augustine," with, a little later, John of Salisbury, represent sufficiently the power and skill, and the devout sensibility, which were enlisted in doctrinal research. In the century following, Thomas Aquinas, the "Angelical Doctor," and Bonaventura, the "Seraphical Doctor," carried on the succession, and brought it to what seemed its splendid climax. They were themselves the vital product of spiritual forces which already were working, with a prophesying energy, in the day of Bernard.

In endeavoring to place him in our thought among such men, there are some things which, in fairness to him, should be distinctly borne in mind. One is that his genius was sensitive and practical, rather than dialectical, sympathetic with truth, and with truth in mysterious forms and relations, rather than patient and profound in analysis. With a feminine intensity of spirit, a deep and delicate moral sensibility, and a rich spiritual experience, the philosophical power was yet not so pronounced in him as in some others. Another thing to be equally remembered is this: that in harmony with this temper he had always in view a supreme practical end, the leading of men to the highest attainments in that Divine Life in which his own progress was assiduous and illustrious. And a third thing is, that he was constantly engaged in administrative affairs, which to him appeared of vast importance. Not only in his monastery, not only in constant care and oversight of the connected monasteries, but in the public affairs of the time, in the counselling of kings, the election and enthronement of popes, the discipline of the Order of Templars, the giving vast impulse to crusades, he was absorbingly engaged;

and scant time was left for the searching, fundamental, exhaustive examination of the immense problems which theology presents. If we fail, therefore, to find in him the extraordinary power of metaphysical analysis, with philosophical co-ordination of ascertained conclusions, which Anselm showed for example, or Aquinas afterward, we need not be surprised. His life, on the whole, seems to me among the noblest phenomena of his age; but I by no means affirm that in the department of original and enlightening theological speculation he had not superiors.

He is, in fact, chiefly important, in this direction, as representing in its best form, and with a halo projected upon it from his radiant spiritual life, the doctrine which he had learned in his youth, which seemed to him confirmed by experience and illumined by the Scripture, and in which his soul found nourishment, rest, and exaltation. He left no "Summa Theologiæ." What he believed has to be gathered from manifold passages, associated in thought, but not in the order or time of composition, which are distributed through his writings. It was not a scheme developed by himself through logical processes, but one which had been borne in upon him, by his early instruction, by his affectionate study of the Scripture, and by his high meditation, until it had become a part of his life, mingling itself in inseparable union with all that was best in his experience and his hope. One might almost say that, the authority of the Scripture being conserved, the practical criterion of truth was to him in its power and tendency to bring man's spirit nearer to God. I do not see how any doctrine failing to do this could have got sure hold on his mind. Because the doctrine which he had early accepted, as interpreted by his imagination and heart, seemed to him

signally to do this, he held and loved it with the entire force of his nature. He was intensely, though not timidly, conservative of it; and he looked with a certain sensitive jealousy, born of a deep and controlling affection, on anything which might tend to lower its dignity or obscure its splendor before the eyes of the world.

This is really the significance of the title which I have mentioned as affectionately given him, "The last of the Fathers;" while Anselm, on the other hand, though the profoundest theologian of his time, is also fairly to be regarded as the first, and among the greatest, of the schoolmen. He differed from Bernard not in purpose or spirit, but in the proportion and balance of his powers, the acutest understanding being united in him with a sensitive conscience, and a heart charged with profound feeling. He sought always to give an account to the rational nature of that transcendent Divine system which was to him as certain as the earth, while vastly grander in its substance and its relations; in whose discovery of God his heart rejoiced. As the example of a sincere, devout, and most educating thinker, along lines essentially difficult and new, perhaps no one in history is more eminent than he, whose genius we certainly cannot equal, but whose piety and thoughtfulness are not beyond our eager aspiration.

In Bernard the same elements were combined, but with greater preponderance of devout feeling, and a less energetic and masterful development of the questioning and constructive understanding. He held strongly to what was established, in doctrine as in institutions. He accepted, without reserve, the system of Christianity as it had come to him from the past, as it seemed to him set forth in the Scripture, as it was associated with the deepest and subtlest longings and attainments of his

spiritual nature. He believed it because he felt it. He could truly say of it, "All my springs are in thee;" and therefore doubts did not disturb him, even efforts to show religion reasonable appeared to him superfluous, if not indicative of a too daring confidence in the native mental power of man. Perhaps he was not as patient toward such, or as sympathetically considerate of them, as he might well have been. The modern tendency certainly does not move in a line with his. It may even find much in his attitude antipathetic with its own. But we have to recognize facts as they meet us; and it is as such an essential conservative in his whole relation to the doctrine which had quickened, moulded, and exalted his spirit, that he asks our attention. I do not know but this adds to his significance, as an exponent of the theological opinion prevalent in his time among men like himself. I certainly do not feel that it detracts from the homage always due him for his fearless sincerity.

That he was a firm and fervent supernaturalist, in his conception of religious truth, need not be said. It would have seemed just as credible to him that man had built the sun and stars as that he had framed the Gospel of Christ out of fancies and myths; as credible that by human ingenuity the sunshine had been braided, as that from will or wit of man had come that supernal heavenly energy which lifted him sweetly and surely toward God. But within this general range of conception, common in his time, and common with Christian disciples since, he had his own place, a beautiful and high place. Not dryly logical, nor on the other hand philosophically discursive, the warmth of his heart, and the imaginative glow of his mind, gave light and color to all his system, and made it so essentially noble and effulgent that it continually allures our study. He did not consciously

clothe fancies with authority; but the intuitions of faith, or what appeared such, were easily articulated as dogma. High poetic and spiritual conceptions seemed naturally invested with supernal sanctions. He did not mistake reverie-mists for self-luminous stars; but the sphere of truth had to him an atmosphere about it full of tints and sunny splendors, in contemplating which his soul delighted, and by which the truth seemed freshly verified. He was, if we may express it in a sentence, a contemplative yet a most practical Mystic; apprehending secret sublimities in truth, before which forms of words are weak, and thought itself innately infirm; feeling an occult life in the Christian truth, which analysis cannot grasp, any more than the hand can clutch the sunbeam; yet preserved from extravagance by his study of the Scriptures, by that constant activity which kept his mind alert and watchful, and by that earnest Christian love, and that eager desire to bless mankind, which kept his heart faithful and sound. If we so apprehend him, I think he is before us in his general position; and further particular examination of his views becomes a matter of easy study.

The Scriptures were, of course, supreme with him, as read in the common Latin version; and the doctrine that the writers of the Scripture had been so instructed, directed, illumined by the Divine mind, that they spoke with entire authority, was simply the premise on which his entire system rested.[1] But, in common with other

[1] Nam quidquid in Scripturis spiritualiter sentiebat, maxime in silvis et in agris meditando et orando se accepisse confitebatur; et in hoc nullos aliquando se magistros habuisse, nisi quercus et fagos joco illo suo gratioso inter amicos dicere solebat. . . . Canonicas autem Scripturas simpliciter ac seriatim libentius ac sæpius legebat; nec ullis magis quam ipsarum verbis eas intelligere se dicebat, et quidquid in eis divinæ sibi elucebat veritatis aut virtutis, in primæ sibi originis fonte magis, quam in decur-

Mystics, he regarded this Divine illumination as not confined to the sacred writers, though pre-eminent in them. He conceived a real though a subordinate inspiration to abide in the mind of the faithful disciple, especially of such as were called to great trusts, or set to be the teachers of others. The supernatural element was always proximate to his thought. He lived in it, in a true sense; and while those from whose pens the Scriptures had come had authority for him, the present witness of the Spirit in the soul, and in the continuing response to the truth on the part of the Church, was also an immediate Divine fact supplemental to this. He would not have said, as Abélard said, as we shall see hereafter, that the prophets had sometimes failed in their gifts, and had uttered erroneous things, that even the Apostles had been by no means exempt from error. But he most surely and practically held that a state of superhuman exaltation is now attainable, in which the mind, by the eye of contemplation, once closed by sin but now opened by grace, transcends the finite, discerns intuitively supernal verities, and is at one with the mind of God. Because of this the great Fathers of the Church had for him an authority almost co-ordinate with that of Apostles; not defined by the number and weight of their arguments, but derived from that intuition of God which he conceived them to have possessed. And because of this the common controlling interpretation of the Scriptures prevailing in the Church appeared to him doubly warranted, — by the sacred writings, and by the under-

rentibus expositionum rivis sapere testabatur. Sanctos tamen et orthodoxos eorum expositores humiliter legens, nequaquam sensibus eorum suos sensus æquabat, sed subjiciebat formandos; et vestigiis eorum fideliter inhærens, sæpe de fonte, unde illi hauserant, et ipse bibebat, — *Opera*, Vita ii. cap. x. 32, vol. sec. col. 2427.

standing of them equally wrought by the Holy Ghost in the hearts of the faithful. The office of reason was subordinate, ancillary, to unfold and defend the substance of the truth thus certified from on high; and an inward illumination of the spirit in man, attained in the rapture of adoration, was necessary in his view to a full and clear understanding of the Word.

The essential meaning of that Word he conceived by no means to lie upon the surface, but to be so involved within the letter that only the spiritual mind could discern it. The modern methods of philological study were unknown, and the Bible was commonly interpreted either in mechanical accordance with ecclesiastical tradition, or in this freer, more emotional way, more congenial to devout spirits. Origen had encouraged the notion of a threefold sense in the sacred Word. Augustine was understood to have made it fourfold;[1] others had pushed the impalpable distinctions yet further than this. Bernard distinguished three different yet harmonious meanings in the text of the Scripture, which he illustrates in

[1] The individual ought then to portray the ideas of Holy Scripture in a threefold manner upon his own soul, in order that the simple man may be edified by the "flesh," as it were, of the Scripture, for so we name the obvious sense; while he who has ascended a certain way [may be edified] by the "soul," as it were. The perfect man, again [may receive edification], from the spiritual law, which has a shadow of good things to come. For as man consists of body, soul, and spirit, so in the same way does Scripture, which has been arranged to be given by God for the salvation of men. — ORIGEN: *De Principiis*, iv. c. 1.

All that Scripture, therefore, which is called the Old Testament, is handed down fourfold to those who desire to know it; according to history, according to ætiology, according to analogy, according to allegory. . . . All these ways our Lord Jesus Christ and His apostles used. . . . In this manner are they dealt with who earnestly and piously seek the sense of the Scriptures [being carefully shown the order of events, the causes of deeds and words, the great agreement of the Old and New Testaments, and the great secrets under the figures]. — AUGUSTINE: *De Util. Credendi*, iii.

this way in one of his sermons: the soul is introduced by Him who loves and leads it, first, into the garden, which represents the historical sense of the Word; next, into the store-rooms, for spices, fruits, and wines, which stand figuratively for the moral sense of the Scripture, and which are rich in provision for enjoyment and for food; finally, into the bed-chamber, which is the figure for the mystical sense, where only the beloved enter and rest.[1] The distinction was as evident to him as were the several departments of his abbey, and as familiar to his thought as those were to his eyes.

Of course to one believing in this essential hiddenness of the deeper import of the Scriptures the way was always open for introducing into the Word, or imposing upon it, his own conception of what it ought to contain, the letter becoming elastic, almost fluent, beneath the touch of the interpreting spirit. What appear to us unfounded inferences, extravagant eccentricities of exposition, in mediæval teachers, are often thus to be explained; and this was a danger from which Bernard could hardly escape. His convictions were intense, his fancy was fruitful, his mind was rich in imaginative suggestions, while the very stress of practical activities amid which he lived gave to his thought a keener glow and a gladder freedom when he turned to interpret the treasures of the Scripture. But always the impulse of a devout feeling was in his meditation; and whatever one may find of mystical exposition distributed through his sermons, of allegories evolved out of metaphors, of fanciful meanings conveyed into obvious images, he has always a practical end in view, and rarely loses his sobriety and dignity of mind. One cannot conceive of him, for example, as repeating the foolishness of one

[1] Opera, vol. prim., Ser. xcii. De Diversis, coll. 2533–35.

who found, as Hagenbach reports, an inscription of Christ in the human face; the eyes, with the eyebrows, the nose, the ear and the mouth, making up the signs for "Homo Dei."[1] Puerilities like these could hardly have failed to seem offensive to Bernard's fervent thought, and to his genuine though rich and responsive moral sensibility.

But his conviction of a subtile mystical sense in the Scripture did lead him with emphasis to insist upon this: that in order to a true understanding of the Word a right spiritual temper is needed in man, and that final illumination as to its meaning is only to be reached through purity of heart. "Instruction makes men learned," he says, "affection [toward the truth] makes them wise. The sun does not warm all whom it enlightens; so there are many whom a wise philosophy teaches as to what may be done, while it does not set them in a glow to do it. It is one thing to know of many riches, another thing to possess them; and it is possession, not knowledge, which makes one rich."[2] That a desiring and confiding disposition of the heart must precede the apprehension of truth ("Fides præcedit intellectum") was as truly a principle with Bernard as it had been with Augustine or with Anselm. The truth of history, or of science, or of human philosophy, might be

[1] Hist. of Doct., vol. ii. p. 248, note. Edin. ed., 1884.

[2] Instructio doctos reddit, affectio sapientes. Sol non omnes, quibus lucet, etiam calefacit; sic Sapientia multos, quos docet quid sit faciendum, non continuo etiam accendit ad faciendum. Aliud est multas divitias scire, aliud et possidere; nec notitia divitem facit, sed possessio. . . . O veræ quietis locus, et quem non immerito cubiculi appellatione censuerim! in quo Deus, non quasi turbatus ira, nec velut distentus cura prospicitur; sed probatur voluntas ejus in eo bona, et beneplacens, et perfecta. Visio ista non terret, sed mulcet; inquietam curiositatem non excitat, sed sedat; nec fatigat sensus, sed tranquillat. Hic vere quiescitur. — *Opera*, vol. prim., Ser. in Cantica, xxiii.; coll. 2801–3.

understood without a particular moral preparation. To the cognition and reception of the truths of religion, which constitute the final perfect norm of thought, there must be a distinct bent of the spirit toward them; one must thirst for Divine wisdom, as well as for righteousness, before he can be filled. Anselm expressed in strongest terms what seemed to him the proper relation between the disposition and the intellection when he said: "I do not seek to understand in order that I may believe, but I believe in order that I may understand; for unless I will believe, I may not understand."[1] Bernard puts it in another form, but with equal emphasis: "What," he says, "can be more contrary to reason than the effort to transcend reason by itself? and what more contrary to faith than to be unwilling to believe what by reason cannot be attained?"[2] A longing after God, predisposing to the affectionate acceptance of whatever He may declare, giving eyes to the soul, leading to the faith which is after all but as the luminous shadow and prophecy of glorious things to be revealed,[3] — this was wholly indispensable in the view of Bernard to the true perception of spiritual things, to any real insight into Divine thoughts and plans. Devotion must prepare for

[1] Non tento, Domine, penetrare altitudinem tuam; quia nullatenus comparo illi intellectum meum; sed desidero aliquatenus intelligere veritatem tuam, quam credit et amat cor meum. Neque enim quæro intelligere, ut credam; sed credo, ut intelligam. Nam ac hoc credo quia nisi credidero, non intelligam. — *Proslogion*, cap. i.

[2] Dum paratus est de omnibus reddere rationem, etiam quæ sunt supra rationem, et contra rationem præsumit, et contra fidem. Quid enim magis contra rationem, quam ratione rationem conari transcendere? Et quid magis contra fidem, quam credere nolle, quidquid non possit ratione attingere? . . . Academicorum sint istæ æstimationes, quorum est dubitare de omnibus, scire nihil. — *Opera*, vol. prim., Tract. de Error. Abél., coll. 1442, 1450.

[3] Ser. ii. in Epiph., col. 1788; Ser. xxxi. in Cantica, col. 2868.

fruitful meditation. Devout affections were the wings on which the soul must ascend toward the Highest.

He naturally distinguishes, therefore, three acts or states of the mind in the progressive attainment of truth. The first of these is Opinion; which follows probability, and is always uncertain; swinging like a pendulum between opposite arguments; never able to reach entire certainty, or to afford sure support to the soul. The second is Faith, which accepts and affirms, on what to it is authoritative testimony, truth which as yet it cannot for itself demonstrate, cannot indeed altogether understand; the full meaning of which lies before it under a veil, involved in what it accepts, but not yet clearly expressed. This, of course, is wholly different from Opinion. It believes, where the other discusses; and it holds that God Himself is suspected when any one is unwilling to receive as true what has not yet been ascertained by reason.[1] Then comes the "Intellectus," the clear and full mental apprehension of the truth which Opinion has doubted, but which Faith has affirmed. This not only has certainty concerning the truth, but it has the particular and comprehensive personal knowledge of that. In both these respects it differs from Opinion. In the latter it differs from Faith, and is superior to it. The perfect beatitude of the mind is reached when what had been certain to Faith is fully presented to intellectual apprehension. Opinion has never more than the probable likeness of truth; Faith has the truth, but as a sealed treasure, not yet opened. The final state is that in which the mind reaches the certain and absolute knowl-

[1] Cum ea ratione nititur explorare, quæ pia mens fidei vivacitate apprehendit. Fides piorum credit, non discutit. Sed iste Deum habens suspectum, credere non vult, nisi quod prius ratione discusserit. — *Opera*, vol. prim., epist. cccxxxviii.; col. 631.

edge of invisible things. So Opinion can never properly contradict Faith, or call in question what it affirms. Whenever it positively asserts, it is rash; whenever Faith hesitates, it is weak. The latter is the voluntary and sure pre-libation of that which hereafter is to be completely disclosed; and the spiritual apprehension of truth — or, as we should perhaps say, the intuitive and complete understanding of it — only opens the contents of what Faith had accepted in the casket. It explores and maps out the realms which Faith from the distance has as surely but more dimly seen.[1]

This is the sequence of spiritual processes which Bernard recognizes as naturally connected with the reception of Divine truth by the human mind; and, of course, it is the final state which he supremely aspires to reach, — the state of immediate discernment of the Invisible, by the purified heart and the devoutly contemplative mind. Consideration, on its highest level, is to him the same with Contemplation, though at times he makes a distinction between them; and this Contemplation is the true and sure intuition of the truth, the immediate and undoubting discernment of it.[2] Angels

[1] Quorum intellectus rationi innititur, fides auctoritati, opinio sola veri similitudine se tuetur. Habent illa duo certam veritatem; sed fides clausam et involutam, intelligentia nudam et manifestam; cæterum opinio, certi nihil habens, verum per verisimilia quærit potius, quam apprehendit. . . . Opinio, si habet assertionem, temeraria est; fides, si habet hæsitationem, infirma est; item intellectus, si signata fidei tentet irrumpere, reputatur effractor, scrutator majestatis. . . . Fides est voluntaria quædam et certa prælibatio necdum propalatæ veritatis. Intellectus est rei cujuscumque invisibilis certa et manifesta notitia. Opinio est quasi pro vero habere aliquid, quod falsum esse nescias. . . . Nil supererit ad beatitudinem, cum quæ jam certa sunt nobis fide, erunt æque et nuda. — *Opera*, vol. prim., "De Consideratione," lib. v., cap. 3, col. 1075.

[2] Juxta quem sensum potest contemplatio quidem definiri, verus certusque intuitus animi de quacumque re, sive apprehensio veri non dubia. Con-

have this; not studying the Creator in His works, but beholding all things in the Word, having direct perception of the primal ideas in the mind of the Eternal. Man may attain it in a measure, if not with the angelic fulness. Not so much by gradual ascent is it to be reached as by sudden exaltation, in a superlative rapture, like that of Saint Paul when caught up to the heavens. "Excessus," not "Ascensus," had been his experience. It might, in a measure, be that of others. The soul might here gain heavenly pinions, lifting it above solicitations or shadows of sensible things, and making it partaker, in a degree, of the inheritance of angelic purity.[1]

Bernard had had no vision like the Apostle's, attended by an evident glory; but he felt that he had had visits of the Son of God, the Divine reality of which had been shown by the wonderful new force and joy which came to pervade him, the facility and abundance with which he afterward brought forth in his life the fruits of the Spirit.[2] They were to him as animating breaths, coming

sideratio autem, intensa ad investigandum cogitatio, vel intentio animi vestigantis verum. Quanquam solebant ambæ pro invicem indifferenter usurpari. *Opera*, vol. prim., "De Consid.," lib. ii., cap. 2, col. 1024.

[1] Sancta aliqua et vehementi cogitatione anima a semetipsa abripitur; si tamen eousque mente secedat et avolet, ut et hunc communem transcendat usum et consuetudinem cogitandi. . . . Bona mors, quæ vitam non aufert, sed transfert in melius; bona, qua non corpus cadit, sed anima sublevatur. Vol. prim., Ser. in Cantica, lii. col. 2980.

At omnium maximus, qui spreto ipso usu rerum et sensuum, quantum quidem humanæ fragilitati fas est, non ascensoriis gradibus, sed inopinatis excessibus, avolare interdum contemplando ad illa sublimia consuevit. Ad hoc ultimum genus illos pertinere reor excessus Pauli. Excessus, non ascensus; nam raptum potius fuisse, quam ascendisse ipse se perhibet. — *Opera*, vol. prim., "De Consideratione," lib. v. cap. 2, col. 1073.

[2] Fateor et mihi adventasse Verbum, in insipientia dico, et pluries. Cumque sæpius intraverit ad me, non sensi aliquoties cum intravit. . . . Quæris igitur, cum ita sint omnino investigabiles viæ ejus, unde adesse norim? Vivum et efficax est; moxque ut intus venit, expergefecit dormi-

forth from within the gates of pearl. They were prophetic, in the exaltation and secret illumination which they brought to his spirit, of the immediate and perfect insight into all Divine things which he surely expected to reach. In his sermons, he specifies, in his mystical way, three kisses of the soul: the first, of the feet of God, when the soul embraces his mercy and truth; the second, of the hands of God, when it turns with its might to His service in good works, or gratefully receives from Him the gift of virtues; the third, upon His mouth, when with celestial desire it aspires to the hidden joys of the most intimate communion with His mind.[1] In this highest state, the soul collecting itself within itself, and divinely assisted, abstracting itself from all human things, arises to direct contemplation of God. Its state is then of certitude and of vision, the nearest approach to heavenly levels.[2]

This being Bernard's view of the sources of Christian knowledge, and of the means of highest attainment in this, if we go on to consider the particular doctrines which he accepted as conveyed by the Scriptures, attested by the general consciousness of Christians, and verified by his own experience, we shall find them, I think, profound

tantem animam meam; movit, et mollivit, et vulneravit cor meum, quoniam durum lapideumque erat, et male sanum. . . . Ita igitur intrans ad me aliquoties Verbum sponsus, nullis unquam introitum suum indiciis innotescere fecit, non voce, non specie, non incessu. . . . Ex discussione sive redargutione occultorum meorum admiratus sum profunditatem sapientiæ ejus; et ex quantulacumque emendatione morum meorum expertus sum bonitatem mansuetudinis ejus; et ex renovatione ac reformatione spiritus mentis meæ, id est interioris hominis mei, percepi utcumque speciem decoris ejus. Vol. prim., Ser. in Cantica, L. xxiv. 6; coll. 3125-26.

[1] Ser. De Diversis, lxxxvii. col. 2519; In Cantica, iv. col. 2681.

[2] Speculativa est consideratio se in se colligens, et, quantum divinitus adjuvatur, rebus humanis eximens ad contemplandum Deum. Vol. prim., "De Consid.," lib. v. cap. 2, col. 1074.

and lofty, whether we wholly agree with them or not, and shall discern the key to his character and the law of his life in the system which thus opened before him in wide expanse, with what to him appeared a truly supernal splendor.

As thorough a realist in his philosophy as Augustine had been, he considered human nature to exist independently of persons, the species to precede the individual; and from this nature original righteousness had departed, into this species disorder and corruption had been introduced, by the sin of him in whom it all was at first incarnated. Since that, the supreme bias of the soul toward God, which had been the primal glory of man, had become a dreadful aversion from Him, which was itself sinful, a proper object of Divine condemnation, and out of which proceeded the infidelities, the lusts, and all wickedness of mankind. "God," he says, "is the true life of the soul, and that which separates between them is nothing else but the vice of the soul, which is sin."[1] "The original sin," he says again, "is the greatest of all, that which we derive from Adam, in whom we all sinned, by reason of whom we all die. This so affects the entire human race that no one escapes it. It so affects each person, from the first to the last, that the poisonous principle is diffused throughout each from foot to head. In every period of life it appears, from the day of one's birth to the day of his burial. It is the occasion of the miseries of life, infecting the nature in every individual, and becoming the source of personal transgressions. A heavy yoke indeed it is which comes thus upon all the children of Adam."[2]

The careful and searching pyschological analysis

[1] Vol. prim., Ser. in Psal. x., col. 1885.
[2] Ibid., Ser. in Feria iv. coll. 1941-42.

which came later, appearing for example in Thomas Aquinas, is not evident in Bernard. He simply accepted what seemed to him the obvious facts in the moral condition of man, his loss of the primitive supernatural gifts, his inward severance from his Author, the presence in him by nature of an evil selfishness of disposition and desire, vicious in itself, and prolific of vices; and though he recognized a certain imperfect freedom of the will after sin,[1] he quite understood that no one through it could extricate himself from the dominion of evil, or from the suffering which must properly follow. His strongest words and most vivid images cannot surpass, if even they equal, his inner conception of the essential moral corruption of the nature of man involved in the Fall. The doctrine that the only vital connection between the sin of Adam and that of his posterity was in the fact that he furnished the example which they followed, or the subsequent doctrine of Abélard that what had come from the first man to his descendants was not properly sin, but in effect its penal consequence, — neither of these could satisfy the intenser and deeper conviction of Bernard. Man, to him, appeared separated from God by an evil self-will, born within him, which would extinguish if it could, for its freer gratification, the Divine character and life; of which everything vile and savage on earth is the natural outcome; for which the punitive fires of the future are but the just and certain recompense; which being itself expelled leaves for man no more hell.[2]

[1] Epist. lxix. col. 219; Tract. de Gratia, col. 1381, *et al.*

[2] In corde duplex est lepra; propria voluntas, et proprium consilium. Voluntatem dico propriam, quæ non est communis cum Deo et hominibus, sed nostra tantum; quando quod volumus, non ad honorem Dei, non ad utilitatem fratrum, sed propter nosmetipsos facimus, non intendentes placere Deo et prodesse fratribus, sed satisfacere propriis motibus animorum. Hæc

But over against this central and appalling debasement of human nature, stood, in his view, that measureless and inestimable grace of God by which men are assisted to rise again to a Divine virtue, and to gain salvation. According to his conception of it, this grace worked through the will of the recipient, not against it, while it was still a prevenient grace, coming before man's effort for it, inspiring good thoughts, exciting good desires, and so uniting itself with the perverse will in man that this should consent to and not resist it; the whole beginning of salvation, as well as its fulfilment, being thus from God, while the will in man was not superseded or mechanically overpowered, but inwardly, spiritually transformed.[1] That this grace of God was invisibly conveyed to men through the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, Bernard certainly did not doubt. He clearly sets forth his high estimate of these, and for himself would add to them another, that of

enim adversus Deum inimicitias exercens est, et guerram crudelissimam. Quid enim odit, aut punit Deus præter propriam voluntatem? Cesset voluntas propria, et infernus non erit. . . . Nemini qui sit in propria voluntate, posset universus mundus sufficere. Nunc autem et ipsum, quantum in ipsa est, Deum perimit voluntas propria. Omnino enim vellet Deum peccata sua aut vindicare non posse, aut nolle, aut ea nescire. Vult ergo eum non esse Deum. . . . Hæc est crudelis bestia, fera pessima, rapacissima lupa, et lœna sævissima. — *Opera*, vol. prim., Ser. iii. in temp. Res., coll. 1971–72.

[1] Porro duo mihi sunt necessaria, doceri ac juvari. . . . Quid igitur agit, ais, liberum arbitrium? Breviter respondeo: Salvatur. Tolle liberum arbitrium, et non erit quod salvetur; tolle gratiam, non erit unde salvetur. Opus hoc sine duobus effici non potest: uno a quo fit; altero cui, vel in quo fit. Deus auctor est salutis, liberum arbitrium tantum capax; nec dare illam, nisi Deus; nec capere valet, nisi liberum arbitrium. Quod ergo a solo Deo, et soli datur libero arbitrio; tam absque consensu esse [or effici] non potest accipientis, quam absque gratia dantis. Consentire enim salvari est. . . . Non enim est consensus, nisi voluntarius. Ubi ergo consensus, ibi voluntas. Porro ubi voluntas, ibi libertas. — *Opera*, vol. prim., Tract. de Gratia et Lib. Arb., coll. 1366–1367.

washing the disciples' feet.[1] But the office of all these was, and their beautiful virtue, to introduce the soul to the clear apprehension and the living appropriation of Christ the Lord, and of God in Him; and while no one was to reject them, or to think lightly of them, neither was any one to rest passively upon them, or to feel himself secure by reason of them. It must be evident to all contemplating his life, that he relied largely on the preaching of the truth with an intelligent understanding of it, with purity of spirit and earnestness of purpose, and with a life illustrating the word, as a chief means and vehicle of the Divine grace. It formed, to his mind, a threefold cord not easily broken, to lift men from the prison-house of sin, and to exalt them toward heavenly realms, when one thinks rightly, speaks worthily, and confirms his utterance by his life;[2] and to such work his own soul was given with a zeal that knew no pause or limit.

[1] Nam ut de remissione quotidianorum minime dubitemus, habemus ejus sacramentum, pedum ablutionem. . . . Aliquid igitur latet quod necessarium est ad salutem, quando sine eo nec ipse Petrus partem haberet in regno Christi et Dei. — *Opera*, vol. prim., Ser. in Cœna Dom., col. 1950.

[2] Et est funiculus triplex, qui dificile rumpitur, ad extrahendas animas de carcere diaboli, et trahendas post se ad regna cœlestia, si recte sentias, si digne proloquaris, si vivendo confirmes. — *Opera*, Ser. in Cantica, xvi. 2, col. 2748.

Unde putas in toto orbe tanta, et tam subita fidei lux, nisi de prædicato Jesu? . . . Monstrabat omnibus lucernam super candelabrum, annuntians in omni loco Jesum, et hunc crucifixum. . . . Quid ita exercitatos reparat sensus, virtutes roborat, vegetat mores bonos atque honestos, castas fovet affectiones? Aridus est omnis animæ cibus, si non oleo isto infunditur; insipidus est, si non hoc sale conditur. . . . Siquidem cum nomino Jesum, hominem mihi propono mitem et humilem corde, benignum, sobrium, castum, misericordem, et omni denique honestate ac sanctitate conspicuum, eumdemque ipsum Deum omnipotentem, qui suo me et exemplo sanet, et roboret adjutorio. Hæc omnia simul mihi sonant cum insonuerit Jesus. — *Opera*, Ser. in Cantica, xv. 6, coll. 2744–2745.

The effect of the operation of Divine grace, in the mind darkened and disordered by alienation from God, was to be looked for, in Bernard's contemplation, in a vital and thorough transformation of the spirit, so that it should see, love, and cling to the things Divine, and should rise to a true and holy fellowship with the Eternal. It was to be attended, as he knew it to be, by inward peace, a deep and tranquil satisfaction of the soul in Him from whom its life had come. Indeed, he expected an immediate individual assurance of faith to attend it, such as theologians have been commonly shy of demanding. "If thou believest," he says, "that thy sins cannot be abolished except by Him against whom alone thou hast sinned, and upon whom sin cannot fall, thou doest well; but add to it also that thou shalt believe this, that *thy* sins have been forgiven to thee through Him. This is the testimony which the Holy Spirit utters in thy heart, saying, 'Thy sins are forgiven thee.' For He forgives sin, He confers merit; and He, none the less, adds the reward."[1] All vicissitudes of life, all present experiences of pain or of gladness, were as nothing to Bernard, if this inward assurance of Divine forgiveness, acceptance, and promise, were present in his soul. To attain this in himself, to impart it to others, was the supreme aim of his life. Anselm had been wont to say, as I have reminded you, that if there were presented to him, on the one hand, the hatefulness of sin, on the other hand, infernal

[1] Ideoque si credis peccata tua non posse deleri nisi ab eo cui soli peccasti, et in quem peccatum non cadit, bene facis; sed adde adhuc ut et hoc credas, quia per ipsum tibi peccata donantur. Hoc est testimonium quod perhibet in corde tuo Spiritus sanctus, dicens: Dimissa sunt tibi peccata tua. . . . Ipse enim peccata condonat, ipse donat merita, et præmia nihilominus ipse redonat. — *Opera*, Ser. i. in Annun. B. Mariæ, vol. prim., coll. 2094–95

pains, and he were constrained to take one or the other, he would choose the hell-fire before the sin.[1] Such would certainly have been the choice of Bernard; and no one can doubt that he would rather have aided to make one man holy than to make all the millions of mankind rich and powerful, skilful or famous.

That in the Lord Jesus Christ the Divine and human natures were united in one Person, one cannot imagine that it ever occurred to him to doubt. It had been the sovereign idea of his childhood. It was to him the foundation-stone of the whole Church-system, vital and august, in which the life of his soul was enshrined. He found it in the Scriptures, as he read and understood them. His inner experience appeared absolutely to certify of the fact; and his hopes for the future rested upon it. While he felt, therefore, the tenderness and fraternal sympathy of the Lord who shone illustrious in the Gospels, he felt also the power, authority, and virtue which belonged to Him as Divine, and which made Him the true and only mediator between the sinner in his condemnation and the infinite God, against whom he had sinned. The whole analogy of the faith, as well as the testimonies which he found in himself, conducted him without question or pause to this view of Christ.

On the work of Atonement accomplished by Christ he held the view generally accepted before Anselm, which contemplated in that the deliverance of man from the dominion of Satan. To this Prince of fallen angels man, since the Fall, was held to have been in retributive bondage. The problem solved in the Incarnation and the Passion of the Lord had been to extricate the penitent soul from this yoke of infernal subjection. It

[1] Eadmer, Vita S. Anselmi, lib. ii. p. 16, D.

was the right which Satan had acquired to the man whom sin had brought into deadly fellowship with himself, which was cancelled by the cross. In writing against Abélard, Bernard draws a sharp distinction between a right properly acquired, and a right unjustly usurped, yet justly permitted.[1] The latter he ascribed to the Devil, under God, as great Church Fathers had done before him; and so the Lord, taking upon Him the sin of the world, had suffered under the power of the Devil, in place of man; the Head making a recompense for the members; the Son of God for those whom He would make His brethren in love and peace. God had not required the death of His Son, but had accepted it when offered as the ground of forgiveness, in His desire for man's salvation.[2]

Anselm's profounder theory of the Atonement had been published, as far as anything then was published, years before; having been completed among the sunny Italian hills in the summer days of A. D. 1098. That theory has had, as I need not remind you, an immense influence on the thought of the Church in subsequent time, but it seems to have made only a slight impression, even on the minds sympathetic with its author, at the beginning. It was, I conceive, too solidly encountered by the state of mind which Bernard represented, which had been formed under teachings like those of Augustine and Gregory, of Origen, Ambrose, and Leo the Great. In the view of Anselm, the Atonement was made necessary by the fact

[1] Hoc ergo diaboli quoddam in hominem jus, etsi non jure acquisitum, sed nequiter usurpatum; juste tamen permissum. Sic itaque homo juste captivus tenebatur, ut tamen nec in homine, nec in diabolo illa esset justitia, sed in Deo. — *Opera*, vol. prim., Tract. de Error. Abélardi, col. 1454.

[2] Non requisivit Deus Pater sanguinem Filii, sed tamen acceptavit oblatum; non sanguinem sitiens, sed salutem, quia salus erat in sanguine. — *Ibid.*, vol. prim., col. 1461.

that sin had deprived God of the honor which was due Him, and upon the maintenance of which the order and beauty of the universe depend. God cannot properly leave sin unpunished, or it would have a larger liberty than righteousness has. The sinner cannot make satisfaction to the Divine order by a subsequent repentance, and by doing afterward what he should have done always; nor can an angel do it for him. Therefore God became man in Christ, and voluntarily laid down His sinless life in a supreme sacrifice, which honors God more than sins have dishonored Him, and on account of which punishment is remitted to those whom Christ presents for Divine acceptance. He entirely rejected the notion that Satan had any right over man, since God owed him nothing but punishment, and man nothing except to conquer him; and whatever was required of man was due to God, not to the Devil.[1] How largely this teaching has instructed and moulded the mind of Christendom, we all are aware.

Abélard, on the other hand, had set forth a scheme of thought widely different, to which Bernard could not yield the assent of a tolerating silence; against which he wrote with vehement energy; from his words against which we get clearest views of his own conception. This brilliant disputant, whose name has had tragic prominence in history, was the distinguished champion in his time of the "moral theory," so called, of the Atonement; the theory that the basis of this was in the unspeakable love of God, seeking to enkindle in man new love toward Himself, and thus to remove at once guilt and its punishment, delivering from bondage, and opening to trans-

[1] Siquidem diabolo nec Deus aliquid debebat, nisi pœnam; nec homo, nisi vicem ut ab illo victus illum revincere; sed quicquid ab illo exigebatur, hoc Deo debebat, non diabolo. — *Cur Deus*, lib. ii. cap. 19.

gressors the liberty of God's children.[1] Bernard recognized this moral effect of the work of the Lord in the heart of man, and speaks always most tenderly of it. He finds the reason why Redemption was effected as it was, — not by simple Divine authority and power, as the world had been created, but through humiliation, endurance, and the agony of the cross, — in the fact that by the latter a greater love would be inspired in men, and a new devotion.[2] With all the mystics he felt the inspiring touch on his soul of "the blood of Jesus, full of love, and red like a rose." But he felt that something beyond this was accomplished in the redeeming death of the Lord; that an effect was produced by it elsewhere than in man; that it became, under the Divine administration, in an objective, forensic sense, the sufficient condition of man's forgiveness; and of this effect the ancient account appeared to him the best, — that man's bondage to the Prince of the fallen hierarchies, justly recognized by God on account of man's sin, had been broken by the cross, and that the entire Satanic claim on the penitent sinner had been there forever abolished; so that whoever afterward believed on the Lord, and came to fellowship with Him, entered the freedom which He had purchased.

[1] Nobis autem videtur quod in hoc justificati sumus in sanguine Christi, et Deo reconciliati, quod per hanc singularem gratiam nobis exhibitam, quod Filius suus nostram susceperit naturam, et in ipso nos tam verbo quam exemplo instituendo usque ad mortem perstitit, nos sibi amplius per amorem astrinxit; ut tanto divinæ gratiæ accensi beneficio, nil jam tolerare propter ipsum vera reformidet caritas. . . . Redemptio itaque nostra est illa summa in nobis per passionem Christi dilectio, quæ nos non solum a servitute peccati liberat, sed veram nobis filiorum Dei libertatem acquirit; ut amore ejus potius quam timore cuncta impleamus, qui nobis tantam exhibuit gratiam, qua major inveniri, ipso attestante, non potest. — *Opera Pet. Abál.*, tom. ii. 207; Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. lib. ii. Paris ed., 1859.

[2] Ser. in Cantica, xi. 7, col. 2719.

The faith which he regarded as the indispensable condition of this was not a formal or ritual faith, but personal, affectionate, spiritually energetic. The distinction between believing about Christ, believing His words, believing in Him, was as familiar to Bernard as it was afterward to Peter Lombard, as it has been since to any preacher;[1] and it was only the latter believing, in which the soul appropriated Christ by attaching itself lovingly to Him, which was recognized by him as the Divine gift, the "fides formata," which was followed by justification, and from which issued the effect of holiness. "As long as faith lives in us," he says, "Christ lives in us. When faith dies, there is as it were a dead Christ in the soul. As we discern the life of the body by its movement, so the life of faith is shown by good works. As the soul is the life of the body, so love is the life of faith; and as the body dies when the soul leaves it, so faith expires when love grows cold."[2] It is by the Divine Spirit that this faith is wrought in man. "Christ dies for us," he says, "and deserves to be loved; the Spirit affects us, to make us love Him. The occasion of love is afforded by the one, the affection itself is wrought by the other. What utter confusion, to behold the dying Son of God with ungrateful eyes! which yet would easily happen to us, except the Spirit were present. But now, because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, being loved we love, loving more than we deserve to be loved."[3] Such faith, quick-

[1] Aliud est enim credere in Deum [or Christum], aliud credere Deo, aliud credere Deum. . . . Credere in Deum est credendo amare, credendo in eum ire, credendo ei adhærere et ejus membris incorporari. Per hanc fidem justificatur impius, ut deinde ipsa fides incipiat per dilectionem operari. — *Sent.*, lib. iii. dist. 23, D.

[2] Vol. prim., Ser. ii. in temp. Res., col. 1964.

[3] Vol. prim., epist. cvii.; col. 294.

ened by love, and expressed in holy activities, purifies the heart, and prepares it for the vision of God. Even the hearing of the word may be said to lead to this vision of God, because faith comes by that hearing, and by faith it becomes possible that we shall see the Divine One.[1]

Justification seems to have been clearly distinguished by him from the subsequent sanctification, though effects so closely associated in feeling and thought may not always have been distributed into separate conceptions. But in many passages he seizes the distinction which became so prominent in the later Reformation. "O lowest and highest One!" he says, for example, in one of his sermons; "O humble, yet majestic One! O shame of men, and glory of the angels! No one more exalted than He; and no one more abased! . . . Scarcely for [pro] a righteous man will one die; but Thou hast suffered for the unjust, who hast come freely to justify offenders, to make slaves brethren, captives co-heirs, exiles kings!"[2] So, again: "Truly blessed is he alone to whom the Lord doth not impute sin! For who has not sinned? Not one. All have sinned, and come short of the glory of God. But who shall bring any accusation against God's chosen ones? It suffices to me, for all righteousness, to have Him propitious toward me against whom alone I have sinned. All which He has determined not to impute to me is as if it had never been. Not to sin is God's righteousness; the merciful remission [indulgentia] of God is the righteousness of man. . . . The heavenly birth is the eternal predestination, by which God loved His chosen, and accepted them in His beloved Son,

[1] Auditus ducit ad visum, quia fides ex auditu, qua corda mundantur, ut possit videri Deus. — *Ser. in Cantica*, liii.; col. 2984.

[2] Vol. i. Ser. in Feria iv. 3, 4, coll. 1939–40.

before the foundation of the world; so that they, appearing in the Holy One, may see His righteousness and His glory, by whom they become partners in His heirship, and are presented as conformed to His image. These are treated as if they had never sinned; since although they are seen to have sinned in time, their offences are not recognized in Eternity, because the love of the Father covereth the multitude of them."[1] "What more ought He to have done, which He hath not done? He has enlightened the blind, released the fettered, has led back the erring, has reconciled the accused. . . . Whosoever now, in penitence for sin, hungers and thirsts after righteousness, let him believe in Thee who dost justify the ungodly, and being justified by faith alone he shall have peace before God."[2] "Thy present justification," he says elsewhere, "is both the revelation of the Divine counsel, and a certain preparation for future glory. Or, if predestination is rather the preparation for that, as certainly it is, justification is the nearer approach to it."[3]

There is a remarkable passage in Anselm's works, in his "Admonition to the Dying," in which he says to him who is about passing away, "Dost thou believe that the Lord Jesus Christ died for thee?" to which the response is, "I do believe." "Dost thou render him thanks?" "I do." "Believest thou that thou canst not be saved except by His death?" "I do so believe." "Then do this while the soul tarries in thee: put thy whole confidence in this death alone, and have no trust in anything else; commit thyself wholly to this death, cover thyself altogether with it alone, enwrap thyself wholly

[1] Vol. i. Ser. in Cantica, xxiii. 15, coll. 2802–03.
[2] Ser. in Cantica, xxii. 8, col. 2789.
[3] Epist. cvii. 7, col. 293.

in it; and if God shall determine to judge thee, say to Him: 'O God! I interpose the death of our Lord Jesus Christ between me and Thy judgment; in no other way do I answer Thee.' If He shall then say, 'I judge thee because thou art a sinner,' answer, 'O Lord! I place the death of Jesus Christ between Thee and my sins.' If He shall say, 'Because thou hast deserved condemnation I judge thee,' reply: 'O God, I place the death of our Lord Jesus Christ between me and the evils which I have deserved; I offer His merit in place of the merits which I have not.'"[1] Bernard might certainly have adopted for his own these words of Anselm; and the doctrine of acquittal before God, through the sinner's faith in the dying Redeemer, seems in them as plainly set forth as in any words of Luther, or of Paul. The preliminary office of justification, to which sanctification for the heavenly felicity is the subsequent consummation, appears plainly expressed. The one is objective, an act of God in His jurisprudence; the other is subjective, the fruit of His gracious operation in the heart.

Yet it is always to be observed that with Bernard, as with all the mystics, the release of one from Divine condemnation was inseparably attended in thought with the infusion of grace; and the hidden life of God in his soul, thus inspired, was with him the supreme end of aspiration and effort. It was not on any forensic act of acquittal that his thought was fixed, or on any claim to freedom from punishment so acquired, but on the state of inner holiness to which those forgiven of God should come, when their faith, working by love, and approving itself in holy action, should have brought them to intimate fellowship with Him. He makes a sharp and

[1] Opera, Admon. Morienti, p. 194. Paris ed., 1695.

just distinction between different stages of Christian love. It is what he regards as still practically a fleshly love (amorem quodam modo carnalem) when the heart is merely touched by what Christ did or suffered in the flesh; even though one be moved with compunction by discourse upon this, hears nothing more eagerly, reads nothing with greater desire, recalls nothing more frequently, meditates upon nothing with greater assiduity; though the image of Christ, at His birth, in His infancy, when teaching, dying, rising, ascending, stands before one in his prayer, pressing him to the love of virtue, rebuking and expelling the vices of the flesh, scattering darkness from the mind, quieting the excitements of desire. No doubt this is a necessary passage toward the higher love of Christ. To lead men to it appears to Bernard to have been probably a principal reason why the invisible God was willing to appear in the flesh, and to hold converse with men as Himself a man. But Christ Himself points his disciples to a higher level of love when He says, "It is the Spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing." Paul, he thinks, had ascended to this, when he no longer knew Christ after the flesh. Others may attain it, loving the Lord for Himself in His Divine beauty, with all the heart; and so they shall be always inflamed with zeal for righteousness and truth, shall glow with delight in the study of the Divine wisdom, shall find holiness of spirit and purity of manners lovely to them, shall abhor detraction, know nothing of envy, detest pride, not only fly from but despise human glory, shall vehemently hate and destroy all defilement of the heart, and shall, as it were naturally, instinctively, reject all evil, and cleave affectionately to all that is good. This is the spiritual mind, which no labor nor torture can overcome, which has no fear of

death, and to which shall be opened the immortal treasures of the Divine love.[1]

To this highest state of inward experience Bernard would strive to ascend himself, and to this he would lift his eager disciples. He was called by his contemporaries "the man of Love," because he so conspicuously sought it in himself, insisted on it in others; and, as I have said in a previous lecture, he thought no love of God perfect until one had come to love himself only on account of the Divine One by whom he had been created, and by whom redeemed. He alone truly loves God, his thought is, who loves Him because He is good in Himself, not because he has done good to the one loving; the soul then pours itself forth upon God, thinking only of Him, and cleaving to Him in the perfected unity of the Spirit. "Blessed and holy would I call him," he says, "to whom it is granted to experience something like this in this mortal life, though it be but once, or only occasionally, and for hardly more than a moment. To lose thyself utterly, as if thou wert not, not to think of thyself, to empty thee of thy self, and almost annihilate it, this is the part of heavenly converse, not of mere human affection. . . . It is fit that we neither wish to have been anything, nor to be anything, except on His account; because it is His will, not because it is for our pleasure. . . . Even as the atmosphere, when flooded by the light of the sun, is transfigured into such clearness of light that it does not so much seem to us illuminated as to have itself become elemental light, so it is needful that in the holy every human affection should in some ineffable way clear itself from itself, and become inwardly transformed into the will of God . . . In the spiritual immortal body the soul may hope to attain this

[1] Opera, vol. prim., Ser. xx. in Cantica, coll. 2774–2777.

fourth state of the fulness of love, or rather to be lifted into it, since it will not so much follow on human endeavor as be given by the power of God to whomsoever He will."[1]

It was for this supremest experience that Bernard labored and prayed; that he might know, in some measure, while on the earth, the holy joy of saints in light. When such a final transfiguring love should be vitally present God would be revealed not to the soul only, but within it. It would have the immediate intuition of Him, as declared in its ecstatic consciousness; and in that would be perfect felicity. When the mind has once learned of the Lord, he says, to retire into this interior quiet from the confused noises of the world, and from all the pressure of outward cares, "when the soul has been taught of God to enter into itself, and in its intimate consciousness to sigh for His presence and always thus to seek His face, — this is the work of His Spirit, and to go back from this to the allurements of the world would be like plunging out of Paradise, and being debarred from entrance upon glory. I know not whether such a soul would account the punishment of hell, endured for a season, more horrible or more penal than to go back from the sweetness of this spiritual aspiration to the shades and sorrows of the flesh."[2]

It is very plain, therefore, that the purpose of Christianity was not satisfied in his view by any dexterity in ritual practice, by any philosophical apprehension of truth, by any careful adjustment of the conduct to eth-

[1] Opera, vol. prim., Tract. de dilig. Deo, cap. 10, coll. 1351–52.

[2] Talis, inquam, anima nescio an vel ipsam gehennam ad tempus experiri horribilius pœnaliusve ducat, quam post spiritualis studii hujus gustatam semel suavitatem exire denuo ad illecebras, vel potius ad molestias carnis. — *Opera*, vol. prim., Ser. xxxv. in Cantica, coll. 2890, 2891.

ical precepts, by any occasional gladness of hope, or transient experience of penitence or of praise. It was not satisfied, indeed, by a free development of those noble and beautiful elements of character which constitute for us Christian manhood. He looked beyond these. He desired and sought a superhuman exaltation of the soul, above sense and flesh, above logical thought or ardent sentiment, toward or into the vision angelic. The subjugation of the body, almost to the point of its nullification, was in his view intimately connected with this. The absorption of the mind on spiritual themes was essentially involved in it. With him, as with others sympathetic with his temper, the only perfect attainment of the soul was in its union with the Divine, while personal consciousness was to be maintained even in that ecstatic tranquility. For this he prayed; toward this he aspired and incessantly labored; not waiting, as some one has scornfully said, "to swoon into Divine repose," but seeking to arise, by contemplation, prayer, assiduous self-discipline, noble service, to a point where, by God's grace, through the indwelling of His Spirit, he might discern Him in the soul, become a partaker of the Divine nature, be changed into His image from glory to glory, be filled even unto His fulness. Up from the dark and turbulent Europe, in which for the time he had to tarry, he would rise as on wings to the heavenly courts. Of jasper walls and crystal pavements he seems hardly to have thought. But in the solitude of his cell, or from under the umbrage of abbey forests, he would rise to partake with angelic companies in the transfiguring Vision of God. It was the radiance of this immense aspiration which glorified his life; which shed at the time, and has shed ever since, its heavenly lustre upon his career.

If now we look from this point of view upon his governing conception of the Church, we shall see how largely that partook of the mystical, spiritual, supernatural character which he assigned to Christianity and its aims. The Church was beneficent and glorious to him because of its unique and superlative purpose, — to secure to men these blessings, spiritual in nature, unmeasured and immortal. He loved it as his mother had loved it. It was to him the one Divine institution on earth; in comparison with which all other institutions, feudal, royal, imperial or whatever, were common and secular, born of man's ambition or pride, and existing only for secular ends. This alone took cognizance of the soul with its vast possibilities, imparted to it the grace of the Most High, and fitted it for transcendent welfares. His devotion to the Church was therefore not political, diplomatic. No temporal ambitions mingled with it, as possibly sometimes in the spirit of Hildebrand. It was a passionate devotion of the heart, born, as Bernard felt, of his deepest experience, surcharged with force by his noblest aspirations, to which every intensest desire for the welfare of the world gave impulse and energy. The "multitudo fidelium," the goodly and vast fellowship of God's children, — it was not to him what the camp, the court, the forum or the school, might be to others. It was not to him what it was to others who sought office in it, emolument, power. Organized, as for ages it had been, with priests, bishops, archbishops, the pontiff, and with Christ Himself its invisible Head, it was to Bernard His mystical body on earth, — an organism pervaded and vitalized by His spirit, whose teachings articulated supernal truth inaccessible to mere reason; whose ministries offered spiritual life to every receptive and contrite heart; which was by its nature universal; whose

power must always widen in the world, to illuminate and renew this; whose very outward form, of offices and ritual, prefigured from afar the heavenly hierarchies. Nothing was too great to be done for this Church; nothing too rare, costly, or difficult to be made man's reverent tribute to it. The fellowship of the life Divine, communicated through it, simply obliterated human distinctions. It put craftsman and baron, serf and sovereign, upon the same footing, before the cross, before the Throne. It knit together, in his view, in vital bonds, all spiritual believers, however divided in time or by space, so that each might joyfully say, as the Mère Angélique said afterward at Port Royal, "All saints are of my order, and I am of the order of all saints." Other institutions passed away, only this was abiding; others were mutable, this unchangeable, divinely complete, not subject to attacks of human caprice; and while the planet itself should continue, this must remain, representing the personal Lord on the earth, and preparing men, in increasing multitudes, to attain the vision of Him on high.

We may feel that this conception of the Church was largely ideal; almost as unlike what existed at the time, or what has since existed, in the Roman Catholic world, as would be a fanciful picture of the moon which should portray it as a smooth sphere, glowing with inherent light. But we must at least have the fairness to observe that it was not a mere prismatic halo of poetic misconception which to Bernard invested the Church. It was not any pomp of vestments, or stateliness of buildings, or splendor of equipment, which attracted his heart to it; least of all was it any opulence of possessions, or any prerogative in secular affairs. He loved it for its assumed relation to spiritual ends. Because he felt it Divinely constituted, to confer upon men inestimable and

immortal blessings, it stood before him among the battle-scarred institutes of the earth with the light of the celestial morning forever upon it, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible to iniquity as an army with banners. He did not wish, he was utterly unwilling, to be one of its crowned and decorated princes. To be an humble servant in it, to Him who had ordained it in heaven, and had established its foundations at Bethlehem and on Calvary, was the supreme ambition of his heart.

But for this very reason, because his conception of the Church was so majestic, he was all the more strict in his requirements of its officers, and all the more deeply offended and pained by whatever, either in it or in them, failed to accord with the Christian rule. It is abundantly evident that he held no doctrine of papal infallibility which could blind him to what was wrong in pontifical decisions, or could limit in the least the freedom and sharpness of his rebuke toward pontiffs who had erred. I have quoted already, in a previous lecture, some words of his to Innocent Second, written with the frankest severity, and which stung the more because of their truth. There were other sentences in the same letter which it could hardly have been agreeable for the Pontiff to read: "No doubt God is angry with schismatics, but He is by no means well-disposed toward Catholics. . . . When such men as these bishops [whom he has just described as practically tyrants] are defended, sustained, honored, caressed, multitudes are amazed and scandalized, who most certainly know things to be presented in the manners and the life of these men which should be, I will not say in bishops, but in any secular persons whatever, thoroughly condemned and execrated; things which it would shame me to write, and not be decent for

you to hear. Be it so, that they cannot be deposed while no one offers special charges against them; yet ought they whom general fame so accuses to have properly vouchsafed to them the special familiarity of the Apostolic See, or to be exalted to higher honor?"[1]

So he had written before this to Honorius Second, when he had himself been abbot at Clairvaux hardly yet a dozen years: "It is certainly a great necessity which draws us out of our cloisters before the public; but we speak what we have seen. We see sad things, and sad things we speak; the Honor of the Church is not a little wounded in this time of Honorius. Just of late a temper of humility in the king, or rather the firmness of the bishops against him, was beginning to bend his angry temper, when lo! the highest authority, from the Supreme Pontiff, comes intervening; and alas! it casts down the firmness, and reinstates the pride! We know of course that it has been by some stealthy lie that you have been led to command the suspension of this just and needful Interdict. But what we marvel at is on what reasonable ground the case has been judged in this one-sided fashion, and adjudged against the absent."[2] The verbal play on the name "Honorius" can hardly here have been accidental; and it shows how far Bernard was, even then, from fear of dignities. It is not merely an acute touch of his sharp pen. There is in it almost a suggestion of personal scorn.

In like manner he wrote years afterwards to Eugenius Third, in terms which the reformers of centuries later might simply have copied: "I utter the crying complaint of the churches, that they are maimed, or dis-

[1] Opera, vol. prim., epist. clxxviii., col. 399.

[2] Epist. xlvi., col. 191. Honorem Ecclesiæ, Honorii tempore non minime læsum.

membered. There are none, or very few of them, which do not mourn for such injury, or do not fear it. Do you ask what injury? Abbots are withdrawn from bishops, bishops from archbishops, archbishops from primates. By so doing you prove that you have a plenitude of power, but peradventure not so much of justice. You do this because you are able to do it; but whether you ought to do it is another question. A spiritually minded man, who judges everything with discrimination, that he himself may be judged of no one, applies to his work a certain threefold consideration; first, is it lawful? then, is it fit and appropriate? finally, is it expedient? But why is it not indecent for you to put your will in place of law; and because there is no tribunal before which you can be cited, to exercise your power, and be careless of reason? Art thou, then, greater than thy Master, who said, 'I came not to do mine own will'? What can be so brutal as to act, not on behalf of reason, but of lust? to be moved, not by judgment, but by appetite? What so unworthy of thee as, while holding everything, not to be content with the whole, unless also some small particulars, minute portions of the universal dominion committed to thee, as if they were not already thine, thou shalt busy thyself in I know not what ways to make thine own? Concerning which I wish to remind thee of the parable of Nathan, about the man who had many flocks, but who coveted the one lamb of the poor man. The act, or really the crime, of King Ahab may also come before thee, who held the supremacy over all things, but who longed for the one vineyard. God keep thee from hearing what he heard, 'Thou hast killed, and hast taken possession.'"[1] He says to the Pope, frankly, that he

[1] Opera, vol. prim., Tract. de Consid., lib. iii. cap. 4, coll. 1049–50.

fears no poison for him, and no sword, more than he fears the lust of domination;[1] that he does not spare him, in order that God *may* spare him; that Peter, whose representative he is, never knew anything of being carried in a procession, on a white horse, adorned with gems, silks, gold, surrounded by soldiers and shouting attendants; that in such things he shows himself the successor of Constantine, not of Peter; that his one proper business is to do the work of an evangelist, and fulfil the office of a pastor.[2] He writes, in other words, to Eugenius the Pontiff precisely as he would have written or spoken if the Pope had been still a private monk, under his supervision; and the thought of any infallible wisdom belonging to him because he was pope seems as distant from the mind of Bernard as the thought that consecration to the new office had made him an angel.

Of the official counsellors of the Pontiff he wrote in terms of still sharper severity. His words are as if traced, not with a stylus, but with the point of a blade. "Before all things," he says, "they are shrewd to do evil, but know not how to do good. They are hateful alike to earth and heaven, on either of which they lay their hands; impious toward God, rashly bold in respect to holy things, factious toward each other, envious toward their neighbors, inhuman toward strangers; whom nobody loves, as they love nobody; and who are compelled to fear all, since they desire to be feared by all. They cannot bear to be subordinate, do not know how to rule; are faithless to their superiors, insupportable to those beneath them. They are immodest in seeking favors, shameless in refusing them. They are importunate to receive, restless till they do receive, ungrateful when

[1] Opera, vol. prim., Tract. de Consid., lib. iii. cap. 4, col. 1040.
[2] Ibid., lib. iv., cap. 3, col. 1060.

they have received. They have taught their tongues to speak great things, while they do extremely little. They are the largest promisers, and the smallest performers; the smoothest flatterers, and the most biting detractors; the most unmixed dissemblers, the most malignant traitors."[1] He prefaces this tremendous description by saying, 'Try now if I do not know something of the manners of these folks;' of whom he has just before said that they do all the papal business, and that few look to see what they will say, but all look at the gifts in their hands. Certainly severer words could hardly have been uttered by Luther himself, when he returned from that visit to Rome from which he went back to shake the world.[2]

His whole conception of the character and work of a true bishop is set forth by him in a treatise devoted to the purpose, and addressed to the Archbishop of Sens. In this he describes the responsibilities of the office; the true honor to be derived from virtue and zeal, not from position; the ornaments of purity, charity, humility,

[1] Tract. de Consid., lib. iv., cap. 2, coll. 1058–59.

[2] His description of one of the papal legates exceeds what historians have said of the Borgias. One may better transcribe it than translate: —

Pertransiit legatus vester de gente in gentem, et de regno ad populum alterum, fœda et horrenda vestigia apud nos ubique relinquens. A radice Alpium et regno Teutonicorum, per omnes pene Ecclesias Franciæ, et circumquaque circumiens usque Rothomagum, vir apostolicus replevit, non Evangelio, sed sacrilegio. Turpia fertur ubique commisisse; spolia ecclesiarum asportasse; formosulos pueros in ecclesiasticis honoribus, ubi potuit, promovisse; ubi non potuit, voluisse. Multi se redemerunt, ne veniret ad eos; ad quos pervenire non potuit, exegit et extorsit per nuntios. Sæculares, religiosi, omnes male loquuntur de eo; pauperes, et monachi, et clerici conqueruntur de eo. Homines quoque suæ professionis, ipsi sunt qui magis exhorrent et famam ejus, et vitam. Hoc testimonium habet et ab his qui intus, et ab his qui foris sunt. . . . Legite literas has domino meo. Ipse viderit, quid de tali homine faciendum sit; ego liberavi animam meam. — *Opera*, vol. prim., epist. ccxc., col. 576.

which belong to it, the latter being specially necessary to prelates; the glory which pertains to a good conscience, maintained without fear, in the sight of Him who is Judge of all; and he sharply rebukes the ambition of ecclesiastics, with their readiness to seek or to confer many benefices, even when their youth should keep them under the ferule of the tutor rather than see them transferred to the leadership of presbyteries.[1] It is perfectly evident that he saw, as clearly as any one, the evils in the Church, the shames which they brought, the perils which they involved; and that nothing could have held his allegiance to it, as it then existed, except his spiritual and mystical conception of what it was in ideal plan and purpose, — the Bride of Christ, the Divine instrument for lifting the world into wisdom, holiness, the vision and rapture of the heavenly life. In spite of all the craft and avarice, the ambition and hypocrisy, the coarse, brutal, or malign passions, which he saw in men eminent in the Church, he held to this conception of it, and wrought for it with a zeal which has made his name eminent in its annals, and to which we, however widely differing from him, may pay our tribute of admiration.

His conception of the sacraments moved on a line with this conception of the Church, and partook of the same ideal dignity. The ancient description of a sacrament, as "sacræ rei signum," still lived in the Church, though the notion of a renovating power intimately and inseparably associated with the sign was rapidly gaining ground. Bernard defines a sacrament as a sacred sign, or a holy thing with a secret significance. To take an example from things familiar, he says, a ring may be given for itself alone, and as signifying nothing beyond the gift; or it may be given as the sign of investiture with

[1] Opera, vol. prim., coll. 1101-1130.

an inheritance, like the staff which an abbot receives, or the staff and ring given to a bishop, as they enter on the offices of which these are symbols. So baptism signifies the remission of sins, of which the Gospel gives the promise; while the sacrament of the Lord's Supper signifies the Divine grace by which we are enabled to overcome dispositions to sin; and what he regarded as the sacrament of feet-washing represents a cleansing from those daily offences which seem inevitable for those who walk in the dust of the world.[1] He agrees with Ambrose and Augustine that faith is sufficient before God, without baptism, if for any reason that be unattainable; and he sustains this position by citing the example of the penitent robber, unbaptized, but who was to be presently with the Lord in Paradise.[2] The eucharist he saw to be richly freighted with spiritual meaning and holy influence for those who in the longing of their hearts were prepared to receive it; but the surrender of the soul to Christ, in self-renunciation and spiritual fellowship, he clearly held essential to its efficacy.

[1] Sacramentum dicitur sacrum signum, sive sacrum secretum. . . . Ut enim de usualibus sumamus exemplum, datur annulus absolute propter annulum, et nulla est significatio; datur ad investiendum de hæreditate aliqua, et signum est, ita ut jam dicere possit qui accipit, Annulus non valet quidquam, sed hæreditas est quam quærebam. . . . Quæ est ergo gratia, unde per Baptismum investimur? Utique purgatio delictorum. . . . Confidite, quia et in hoc gratia subvenit, et ut securi sitis, sacramentum Dominici Corporis et Sanguinis pretiosi investituram habetis. Duo enim illud sacramentum operatur in nobis: ut videlicet et sensum minuat in minimis, et in gravioribus peccatis tollat omnino consensum. . . . Nam ut de remissione quotidianorum minime dubitemus, habemus ejus sacramentum, pedum ablutionem. . . . Lotus enim est, qui gravia peccata non habet, cujus caput, id est intentio, et manus, id est operatio et conversatio, munda est; sed pedes, qui sunt animæ affectiones, dum in hoc pulvere gradimur, ex toto mundi esse non possunt. — *Opera*, vol. prim., Ser. in Cœna Dom., coll. 1948–50.

[2] Tract. de Baptismo, cap. ii. 6–8, coll. 1410–13.

The design of the sacraments was recognized by the orthodox Mystics as corresponding to the religious needs of man's soul; their thought was that spiritually, not corporeally, the Lord is received in the eucharist; and that only he who partakes of the wafer with responsive faith and love in his heart has the essence of the sacrament. While Bernard certainly recognized a real presence of Christ in the consecrated host, a gracious and glorifying revelation of Him, it was simply in harmony with his whole trend of thought that he should regard this as only discernible by the devout, and as the means of a higher spiritual life to their elect souls. It was not a presence to be bruised by the teeth, or to operate any magical transformation, but a presence to be apprehended by the heart,[1] and to cherish the grace which was already in that. One can hardly conceive of any questions more utterly remote from his whole sphere of thought about the sacrament of the Supper than the questions which engaged and perplexed many minds after the doctrine of Transubstantiation had been formulated, as to what becomes of the body of Christ when the consecrated host has been nibbled by mice, eaten by dogs, or consumed in the fire. The eucharist to Bernard was a mystical, supernal, Divine instrument, for manifest-

[1] Commenting on John vi. 53, "Except ye eat the flesh of the son of man, and drink his blood," Rabanus Maurus had said: "Facinus vel flagitium videtur jubere. Figurata ergo est, præcipiens passioni Domini esse communicandum, et suaviter atque utiliter recolendum in memoria, quod pro nobis caro ejus crucifixa et vulnerata sit." (De Cleric. Instit., lib. iii. c. 13.) So again: "Tunc enim vere et salubriter corpus et sanguinem Christi percipimus, si non tantum volumus, ut in sacramento carnem et sanguinem Christi edamus, sed usque ad Spiritus participationem manducemus et bibamus, ut in Domini corpore tanquam membra maneamus, ut ejus Spiritu vegetemur." (Lib. i. c. 31.) Undoubtedly this was the prevalent thought in devout and discerning minds in Bernard's time, three hundred years after.

ing Christ to those who longed for Him, but who could not bear the vision of Him except as presented through the veiling yet lucent cloud of the symbol.[1] As the spittle and the dust had been made effective by the power of the Lord to open blind eyes, so the common materials employed in the Supper were in like manner transfigured by Him, to become the means of illuminating and purifying receptive souls. The gates of heaven appeared to Bernard silently to open when, through the sacrament, as worthily administered and worthily received, the Heavenly Lord approached His beloved.

This spiritual conception of the Church, with its teachings and sacraments, as offering Divine preparations on earth for celestial experiences, naturally led Bernard to associate very closely the life to come with that here passing, to feel himself intimately allied with the Church Invisible, and to hold almost as clearly before his view the saints ascended as he did the present disciples whom he instructed and quickened at Clairvaux. For those who had here been imperfectly purified there remained indeed beyond the grave a place of expiation, in which God would deal with them not in anger but in mercy, not for their destruction, but for their illumination and purification, that they might be completely prepared for the Heavenly Kingdom. But there, on high, was the immortal home of the holy, — the place of Joy, where

[1] Quæ est autem nubes quæ præcedit veros Israelitas, nisi verissimum et sanctissimum corpus tuum quod in altari sumimus? in quo velatur nobis altitudo diei, immensitas majestatis tuæ, cujus et calorem et splendorem mortalis infirmitas sustinere non posset, nisi mediatrix nubes interposita et ardorem desuper temperaret, et tutam subtus viam præmonstraret. . . . Relucet enim de hac nube semita quæ ducit ad vitam, semita humilitatis et patientiæ, semita mansuetudinis et misericordiæ, et quidquid humano generi per incarnationis tuæ mysterium revelare dignatus es. — *Opera*, vol. sec., Medit. in Passionem, cap. 12, coll. 1027–1028.

they should drink of the river of God's pleasures; the place of Splendor, where they should shine as the brightness of the firmament; the place of Peace, Wonder, Vision, where they should see in immediate presence the glory of God.[1] And with those there assembled Bernard felt himself in affectionate companionship. He most certainly did not expect any merits of theirs to be set over against any ascertained defects in himself. The whole delusive doctrine of a "Thesaurus Meritorum" or a "Thesaurus Supererogationis," was not fabricated till a century later; and one can conceive of no idea which would have seemed to Bernard more blasphemously absurd than that of being saved, not through personal affiliation with the Divine character, and personal adoring love toward God, but through the desert of other souls transferred to his credit. That doctrine, — with the related practice of selling "indulgences" which was grounded upon it, — to his intense conception of what was involved in Divine fellowship, could hardly have seemed, if it had been suggested to him, anything else than an invention of the Enemy of souls.

But his sense of immediate relationship to the saints in light did lead him, as I have suggested, to feel it a privilege to hope that, in their superior nearness to God and their perfected holiness, they would intercede for those still tarrying here on lower levels.[2] And the

[1] Opera, vol. prim., Ser. de Diversis xvi., xlii., coll. 2351–53, 2461–62.

[2] Quis scit tamen si idcirco sublatus fuerit, ut nos suis intercessionibus protegat apud Patrem? Utinam ita sit. Si enim tantæ charitatis erat dum esset nobiscum, ut omnia quæ ad corpoream necessitatem spectant, libentius mihi quam sibi cederet; quanto magis nunc, cum illi summæ charitati, quæ Deus est, inhæret, majorem habet in me gratiam et charitatem? Sed forsitan nunc de me et de conversatione mea plenius novit veritatem: nec compatitur, ut solebat, sed, ut vereor, indignatur. — *Opera*, vol. prim., Ser. in Obitu Humberti, col. 2268. See also col. 2384 *et al.*

same sense of the supernal relations of the Church, and of the glory of Christ as manifested in it, led him to be eager to render to the Virgin Mother of the Lord, not certainly the supreme adoration due only to God, but the modified homage, the "hyperdulia," which put her sovereign among the saints.

The feminine instinct, as I have said, was peculiarly strong in Bernard. Religious sensibility and poetic imagination blended in his life, in intimate accord; and the glorified womanhood of the Mother of the Lord, to him who remembered his own mother with ineffable tenderness, was a lovely and an inspiring vision.[1] The sweetness, the gentleness, the benign, protecting, and exuberant love of this second Eve, who had restored through her child all that the first Eve had lost for the world, in whom God Himself had deigned to repose, he could not too largely or lovingly present. Indeed, language was not adequate to the feeling which surpassed it. Humility and virginity, both most perfect, had been united in Mary; the glory of motherhood with the lovely glory of virginal purity. She was properly named the "Star of the Sea;" to whom men might always look with joy, and with confident assurance of help and rescue, amid the darkness, the anguish, and the turbulence of life. And when he thought of her as received into heaven, by angels and saints, and by the Lord, the glory of even the world celestial took to his mind new splendor and

[1] Ratisbonne, himself an ardent Roman Catholic, has clearly recognized and forcibly expressed this spiritual tendency in Bernard: "Bernard avait conservé une impression profonde de sa mère; et ce sentiment lui fit mieux comprendre, mieux goûter et apprécier le mystère de la Mère des chrétiens. Sa mère terrestre avait été pour lui comme une révélation de la maternité divine; et, appliquant à celle-ci l'amour filial dont il était pénétré, son cœur s'élevait en quelque sorte naturellement et spontanément vers Marie." — *Hist. de St. Bernard*, tom. ii. p. 101. Paris ed., 1875.

charm. It is impossible to overstate the affection, admiration, the trustful and abounding gladness, which filled the soul of the tender and mighty abbot when he thought and spoke of the Mother of his Lord.

But even here the affectionate and loyal enthusiasm of Bernard did not dazzle his judgment. When it was proposed by the canons of Lyons, A. D. 1140, to institute a festival in honor of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin herself, perceiving immediately the perils involved in it, and seeing how plainly contrary it was to the earlier and commanding teaching of the Church, he wrote against it with indignant remonstrance. He declared the proposed rite one of which the Church was ignorant, which reason did not approve, nor ancient tradition commend. "Are we more instructed or more devout than the Fathers?" he said. "It is perilous presumption in us, when their prudence in such things is exceeded. The royal Virgin needs no fictitious honors." That she had been sanctified in the womb, before she was born, and had been preserved from personal sin, he most fervently believed; but if she was to be held to have been immaculately conceived, as if this were essential to the Divine glory in the Incarnation, so must her parents be equally held, and all her ancestors, back to the beginning; and festivals without number would have to be established. It would not be strange, even, he suggests, if it should be afterward declared that she herself had been conceived by the Holy Ghost, as was the Lord her Son, a thing certainly not thus far heard of. It was not really to honor the Virgin, but to detract from her honor, to hold this notion. Christ alone had been conceived without sin, whose office it was to make all holy; and no other had been. The new proposition showed, he said, a presumptuous spirit, the mother of rashness,

the sister of superstition, the daughter of levity; and men were not to follow precipitately and inconsiderately the foolishness of a few inexperienced and ignorant persons. Certainly, only the consenting judgment of the whole Church could authorize such a novelty.[1] His powerful influence checked the tendency to the acceptance and circulation of the new doctrine. It was only later that the festival was established, and then in a sort of tentative fashion. Aquinas,[2] Peter Lombard, Albert Magnus, Bonaventura, with the Dominicans, denied the doctrine, or hesitated before it. Sixtus Fourth, at the end of the fifteenth century, A. D. 1483, confirmed the festival; but declared only that the doctrine involved in it was not heretical, while those who differed from it had the liberty of their opinions. It was not, as you know, till December, A. D. 1854, that the doctrine was defined and clothed with authority by a papal bull of Pius Ninth, and required to be undoubtingly held by the faithful. Against the doctrine the strongest force in the Roman Church has been, from the first, the contrary testimony of Bernard, and of those in sympathy with him. He distinctly did not believe what now is presented as a dogma of faith.

I have sought thus to sketch, as fully as I could within narrow limits, the theology of Bernard, without the

[1] Extracts from Bernard's writings, illustrating what has been said in the foregoing paragraphs, cannot readily be put into foot-notes, but will be found in Appendix B, to this Lecture.

[2] Licet Romana Ecclesia conceptionem B. Virginis non celebrat, tolerat tamen consuetudinem aliquarum Ecclesiarum illud festum celebrantium. Unde talis celebritas non est totaliter reprobanda. Nec tamen per hoc quod festum Conceptionis celebratur, datur intelligi quod in sua conceptione fuerit sancta; sed quia quo tempore sanctificata fuerit ignoratur. Celebratur festum sanctificationis ejus potius quam conceptionis in die conceptionis ipsius. — *Sum. Theol. Quæst.*, xxvii. art ii.; Opera, tom iv. p. 120. Ed. Parmæ, 1854.

slightest partisan bias for or against it, for or against any part of it; aiming simply to show what it was, and how naturally it appealed, in its breadth and brightness, its solemn mystery, and its sublime promises, to a mind like his. Of course he stood in utter opposition to the many sects springing up around him, which attacked not so much particular doctrines of the Church as the entire ecclesiastical system. He honored what of virtue he found among them, and deprecated violent measures against them; but he dreaded their influence in detaching men from the Church, and sought, with incessant fervor, to bring them to restored allegiance to it. Of course he was not in interior sympathy with the confident scholastic disputants whose voices were beginning to echo on all sides. Their inquiries seemed to him daring or trivial, their temper critical, sinister, destructive, their subtle dialectics fatal to a delicate and profound spiritual life. It was not by discussion, but by holiness of heart, that God must be understood. The 'windy loquacity' of disputatious reasoners was a pelting shower, that brought sterility to the earth instead of abundance. The men who engaged in such discussions were in his judgment curious and vain, rather than truly philosophic, delighting in the praises of men, seeking to produce things which men should admire, and erring more widely as they pursued more earnestly a path which was not the way of Christ. To desire to know for the sake merely of knowing was to him a mean curiosity; to desire to know for the sake of reputation was a mean vanity; to desire to know in order to make gain of the knowledge, in the way of money or of honors, was a base greed; to wish to know in order by knowledge to edify others, that was charity; and to wish to know in order to be edified by it in one's self, that was true wisdom and pru-

dence.[1] All learning, all eloquence, were valued by him only as they might nurture to greater completeness the hidden life of God in the soul, and bring men to more blessed and holy fellowship with things Divine.

It has been said, not unfrequently, that Bernard was a Reformer before the Reformation; standing, substantially, in spirit at least, with Tauler, Eckhart, Ruysbroeck, and the German "Friends of God;" almost with Huss, and Jerome of Prague. I do not so conceive his position; though in regard to papal infallibility, to justification by faith, to supererogatory works, to the Immaculate Conception of Mary, he stands in line with such Reformers. In many particulars, of teaching, experience, evangelical practice, he plainly agreed with them; and his sharpest words of censure and of threat were reserved for those who, having forsaken conspicuous sins, trusted in external works and in ritual practice, moving in a mechanical performance of duty, with no conspiring impulse of the heart; omitting no iota of outward service, while the spirit within continued the servant of self-will, greedy of fame, loving ambition. The iniquity of such may deceive themselves, he says, but God is not mocked; only true piety and spiritual endeavor can bring men to Him.[2] In some elements, both of doctrine and of spirit,

[1] Sunt namque qui scire volunt eo fine tantum, ut sciant; et turpis curiositas est. Et sunt qui scire volunt ut sciantur ipsi; et turpis vanitas est. Et sunt item qui scire volunt, ut scientiam suam vendant; verbi causa, pro pecunia, pro honoribus; et turpis quæstus est. Sed sunt quoque qui scire volunt, ut ædificent; et charitas est. Et item qui scire volunt, ut ædificentur; et prudentia est. — *Opera*, vol. prim., Ser. in Cantica, xxxvi. coll. 2898–99.

For the other judgments of the scholastic philosophy attributed in the text to Bernard, see vol. prim., coll. 1093, 3016, 2025, 2322, 513.

[2] Vis videre mundatam, ornatam, et vacantem domum? Hominem intuere qui confessus est, et deseruit manifesta peccata præcedentia ad judicium, et nunc solas movet manus ad opera mandatorum, corde penitus

Melancthon seems to have almost reproduced him, though with certainly far less of the superlative intensity which belonged to Bernard.

But it is not so much through his relation to any who came after him that we are now to regard him, as in the expression which is evident in him of the most vital and quickening theology which prevailed in his time; mystical, spiritual, supremely devout, transcending reason in the uplift of faith, contemplating as its practical end the Beatific Vision, and offering itself as the Divine means to enable men to attain that. Upon that theology fastened, probably most of us think, many subsequent superstitions, which took its high transcendental conceptions, translated them into mechanical dogmas, and externalized things which to Bernard had been supremely attractive because spiritually vital. Of his theology, as of his heart, it might truly be said that its home was in the heavens. His ethereal system could hardly escape being frozen into a frightful scheme of carnal sacraments, purchased absolutions, external salvation, when men of an earthly and frigid spirit put it into the forms of thought most congenial to their minds. But out of that theology came always to himself immense and lovely inspiration. It loosened him from the earth, and made him partaker, as he deeply felt, of thoughts, experiences, belonging by nature to higher realms. It gave him a strange supremacy among men. What power on earth could frighten him, affined through Christ to the Majesty in the heavens? What presence on earth could

arido, ductus consuetudine quadam. . . . In corde enim servus est propriæ voluntatis, cultor avaritiæ, gloriæ cupidus, ambitionis amator; et mentitur iniquitas sibi, sed Deus non irridetur. . . . Sed inveniatur utilis ad omnia pietas, et exercitium spirituale. — *Opera*, vol. prim., Ser. in Assump. B. V. Mariæ, iii. col. 2142.

daunt or allure him, to whom the stars were only the diamond dust of his immortal habitation? Every force of his soul was exalted and energized by the touch of this theology upon him; and its ethereal sovereign power lived for long in other minds. Indeed, it never was lost, or will be, from the consciousness of the Church.

Out of it came magnificent hymns, — the Resurrection Hymn of Peter the Venerable; the wonderful hymn by Bernard of Clugni, in praise of the Celestial Country, parts of which are so familiar and beloved in all our churches; our own Bernard's tender and lofty hymns, of which all know the translations, — "O Sacred Head now wounded," "Jesus, the very thought of Thee, With sweetness fills my breast;" in the following century the "Stabat Mater Dolorosa" of James de Benedictis; and the marvellous "Dies Iræ," probably by Thomas of Celano, whose voice, as of royal thunders, has never ceased to reverberate in Christendom. It was the same spiritual theology which moulded and built the great cathedrals. They took ornament, no doubt, but not inspiration, from human pride. Dialectics of the schools had no part in the majestic office of their construction. Mere ethical instruction would have had no use for them. A rationalizing theology would have flattened them into lecture-rooms. When Bernard was preaching the second Crusade, A. D. 1146, church-building was going on with such absorbing enthusiasm that it formed a real obstacle to his effort. Princes, nobles, men-at-arms, high-born women, with their own hands drew to the appointed sites the materials for the beloved work. The cathedrals of Amiens, Chartres, Cologne, Strasburg, and many others, — the spirit of this mystical, supernal doctrine pervades and governs them, as the structural force pervades the crystal. It is in their aspiring arches,

where rock rises as if emptied of weight; in the towers, which soar like aerial hymns; in the windows, which are crimsoned as with the Lord's blood, or which glow and shine with violet and gold, as if reflecting his glory; it is in the transepts, which extend like the arms of His cross; in the very crypt, which takes its significance from His stony tomb.

On the subsequent pictorial art of Europe, the impressions of this theology survive. There are pictures, for example, of Guido Reni in the gallery at Bologna, which seem to have been bathed in it. It continually appealed, with an unfailing power, to lofty minds, to devout and aspiring hearts. It appeared as clearly as anywhere else in Hugh and Richard of St. Victor, and in the saintly Bonaventura. It was later essentially reproduced in the illustrious Chancellor Gerson, to whom at different times has been ascribed, though no doubt incorrectly, the "Imitation of Christ;" who wrote largely on the Mystical Theology, while he also showed himself, practically as well as theoretically, a master in the art of leading little children to Christ.[1] Thomas à Kempis was a mystic, whose "Imitatio Christi" has had wider circulation in Christendom than any other book except the Bible, and who in it quotes abundantly from the writings of Bernard. Petrarch was in his last years a mystic, after the golden tresses of Laura disappearing from the world had left it hung with sombre shadows. So was Francis de Sales, whose "Introduction to a devout Life" com-

[1] À la fin de sa carrière, après avoir été mêlé à toutes les luttes du quinzième siècle, assisté au concile de Bâle et pris parti pour une sage réforme de l'Église, il quitta sa charge de chancelier, se retira ou fut exilé à Lyon, et là se fit maître d'école pour de petits enfants, comme on le voit dans le traité si remarquable *de Parvulis ad Christum trahendis*, de l'art de conduire à Jésus-Christ les petits enfants. — COUSIN: *Hist. de la Philosophie*, p. 265. Paris ed., 1867.

mended itself to Protestants as well as to Catholics, and was translated in many tongues. The same spirit reappeared in Madame Guyon, to whom prayer was "the silence of a soul absorbed in God," and in the devout and faithful Fénelon. Through the great Reformation of the sixteenth century, the temper if not the terms of this theology became more familiar than ever before, throughout the world; and Guizot found his philosophical attention arrested and impressed by "the singular seductiveness of those theories of pure love which were taught at the court of Louis Fourteenth by his grandchildren's preceptor, at a woman's instigation, and which," as he says, "were zealously preached fifty years afterward by President Jonathan Edwards, of New Jersey College, in the cold and austere atmosphere of New England." [1]

The essential life of that theology never will cease to be exhibited among men, or to do its transcendent work upon them, while the Gospel continues. The more we have of its temper at least in our own hearts, the more clearly will the person and work of Christ be apprehended by us, the more devoutly will the Divine benignity as manifested in Him be adored, the more shall we also in thought and hope transcend the world, and be eager to enter, with illumined and purified spirits, the spheres of the celestial life. Bernard was sometimes regarded by his contemporaries as in effect a thirteenth Apostle.[2] We shall not accord to him such a title; but in his peculiar bent of feeling, in many elements of his charac-

[1] Hist. of France, vol. v. p. 584. Boston ed.

[2] Baronius described him thus, we have seen, four centuries later: —

"Vere Apostolicus vir, immo verus Apostolus missus a Deo, potens opere et sermone, illustrans ubique et in omnibus suum Apostolatum sequentibus signis, ut plane nihil minus habuerit a magnis Apostolis." — *Annal. Ecclesiast.*, an. 1153, tom. xix. p. 73. Ed. Lucæ, 1746.

ter, and in much of his doctrine, he will, I think, naturally remind us of the last Apostle who continued on earth. As nearly, perhaps, as any one of the great Church-teachers, he approached that beloved disciple who wrote of Christ more sublimely than others, as having a clearer intuition of His glory; who saw Him in the Apocalypse, and who was, by eminence, the Apostle of Love. There are passages in the writings of Bernard to which we may almost wholly apply what the evangelical German singer Matthias Claudius beautifully said of the Gospel of John, more than a century ago:[1] "I have from my youth up read the Bible with delight; . . . but most of all I love to read Saint John. In him is something altogether marvellous; dim twilight, and the darkness of night, and through them, now and again, the swiftly flashing lightning; the soft evening cloud, and behind the cloud the great full moon, bodily, in all her glory, something so grandly sombre, and lofty, and soul-searching, that one can never be satisfied . . . I cannot at once understand all that I read. Often it is as if what John meant hovered about me in the distance; but even when I look far, into a wholly obscure place, I have still a foreshadowing of a great, majestic meaning, which sometime I shall comprehend. Therefore I seize eagerly upon every fresh interpretation of John, though for the most part they only ruffle the edges of the evening cloud, while the moon behind holds on her tranquil way."

The sermons, letters, and treatises of Bernard have certainly not the tender and unsearchable sublimity which the poet recognized in the epistles and the Gospel of John, and through which is declared to us the immediate inspiration of him who wrote them, by Him whom they majestically present. But the truth of that Gospel,

[1] Sämmtliche Werke, B. i. s. 9. Hamburg ed., 1841.

and of those epistles, exalted and illumined the mind of Bernard; he was essentially infused with their spirit; and it requires no strain on the mind to think of him now as standing with John in the light celestial for which both looked, in the ecstasy of experience of which both here had fond intimations, in the presence of Him whom both exultingly loved and adored!

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APPENDIX A

THE historical position of Erigena as a theological teacher in the Christendom of the ninth century is so positively unique that sentences from his different and extended writings may not be without interest, as illustrating his acute and daring genius, and in a measure his scheme of religious thought: —

"Cum omnis piæ perfectæque doctrinæ modus, quo omnium rerum ratio et studiosissime quæritur, et apertissime invenitur, in ea disciplina, quæ a Græcis philosophia solet vocari, sit constitutus, de ejus divisionibus seu partitionibus quædam breviter edisserere necessarium duximus. . . . Quid est aliud de philosophia tractare, nisi veræ religionis, qua summa et principalis omnium rerum causa, Deus, et humiliter colitur, et rationabiliter investigatur, regulas exponere? Conficitur inde veram esse philosophiam veram religionem, conversimque veram religionem esse veram philosophiam." De Div. Præd. c. 1. 1 [Migne], col. 357.

"DISC. Auctoritas siquidem ex vera ratione processit, ratio vero nequaquam ex auctoritate. Omnis enim auctoritas, quæ vera ratione non approbatur, infirma videtur esse. Vera autem ratio, quoniam suis virtutibus rata atque immutabilis munitur, nullius auctoritatis astipulatione roborari indiget. Nil enim aliud mihi videtur esse vera auctoritas, nisi rationis virtute reperta veritas, et a sanctis Patribus ad posteritatis utilitatem literis commendata. Sed forte tibi aliter videtur. MAG. Nullo modo. Ideoque prius ratione utendum est in his, quæ nunc instant, ac deinde auctoritate." De Div. Nat. I. i. 69 [Migne], col. 513.

"Nulla itaque auctoritas te terreat ab his, quæ rectæ contemplationis rationabilis suasio edocet. Vera enim auctoritas rectæ rationi non obsistit, neque recta ratio veræ auctoritati. Ambo siquidem ex uno fonte, divina videlicet sapientia, manare dubium non est." Ibid., col. 511.

"Ratio vero in hoc universaliter studet, ut suadeat, certisque veritatis investigationibus approbet, nil de Deo proprie posse dici, quoniam superat omnem intellectum, omnesque sensibiles intelligibilesque significationes; qui melius nesciendo scitur; cujus ignorantia vera est sapientia; qui verius fideliusque negatur in omnibus, quam affirmatur. Quodcunque enim de ipso negaveris, vere negabis; non autem omne, quodcunque firmaveris, vere firmabis." Ibid., col. 510.

[God does not know Himself.] "Quomodo igitur divina natura seipsam potest intelligere, quid sit, cum nihil sit? . . . Aut quomodo infinitum potest in aliquo definiri a se ipso, vel in aliquo intelligi, cum se cognoscat

super omne finitum et infinitum, et finitatem et infinitatem? Deus itaque nescit se, quid est, quia non est quid; incomprehensibilis quippe in aliquo et sibi ipsi et omni intellectui. . . . Nescit igitur, quid ipse est, hoc est, nescit se quid esse, quoniam cognoscit, se nullum eorum, quæ in aliquo cognoscuntur, et de quibus potest dici vel intelligi, quid sunt, omnino esse." De Div. Nat., L. ii. 28, col. 589.

"Num eadem ratione debemus inspicere omnium verborum, quæ sacra Scriptura de divina natura prædicat, virtutem, ut nil aliud per ea æstimemus significari, præter ipsam simplicem, incommutabilem, incomprehensibilemque omni intellectu ac significatione divinam essentiam et plusquam essentiam? . . . Non aliud itaque Deo esse, et velle, et facere, et amare, et diligere, et videre, ceteraque hujusmodi, quæ de eo, ut dicimus, possunt prædicari, sed hæc omnia in ipso unum idipsumque accipiendum, suamque ineffabilem essentiam eo modo, quo se significari sinit, insinuant." De Div. Nat., L. i. 75, col. 518.

"Si ergo seipsam sancta Trinitas in nobis et in seipsa amat, seipsam et videt et movet; pro certo a seipsa amatur, videtur, movetur, secundum excellentissimum modum, nulli creaturæ cognitum, quo seipsam et amat et videt et movet, et a seipsa, in seipsa, et in creaturis suis amatur, videtur, movetur, cum sit super omnia, quæ de se dicuntur." Ibid. col. 522.

"Unam enim ineffabilem omnium causam, unumque principium, simplex atque individuum, universaleque, quantum divino spiritu illuminati sunt, contemplantes, unitatem dixerunt. Iterum ipsam unitatem non in singularitate quadam et sterilitate, sed mirabili fertilique multiplicitate contuentes, tres substantias unitatis intellexerunt; ingenitam scilicet, genitamque, et procedentem." Div. Nat., L. i. 13, col. 456.

"Sacræ siquidem Scripturæ in omnibus sequenda est auctoritas, quoniam in ea veluti quibusdam suis secretis sedibus veritas possidet. Non tamen ita credendum est, ut ipsa semper propriis verborum seu nominum signis fruatur, divinam nobis naturam insinuans; sed quibusdam similitudinibus, variisque translatorum verborum seu nominum modis utitur, infirmitati nostræ condescendens, nostrosque adhuc rudes infantilesque sensus simplici doctrina erigens." Ibid. col. 509.

"Mysteria itaque proprie sunt, quæ juxta allegoriam et facti et dicti traduntur, hoc est, et secundum res gestas facta sunt et dicta, quia narrantur. Similiter sacramenta legalium hostiarum et secundum historiam facta sunt, et dicta sunt, secundum narrationem. . . . Et hæc forma sacramentorum allegoria facti et dicti a sanctis Patribus rationabiliter vocitatur." Com. in Evang. sec. Joan. coll. 344–345.

"Nam si periret natura, periret simul et vitium. Sed virtute bonitatis omnis natura continetur, ne pereat. Adhuc tamen malitia permittitur in ea, videlicet natura, ad laudem bonitatis ex contrario comparatione et exercitatione virtutum rationabili operatione, et purgationem ipsius naturæ,

quando absorbebitur mors in victoria, et sola bonitas in omnibus et apparebit, et regnabit, et universaliter est peritura malitia." De Div. Nat., L. i. 66, col. 511.

"Passiones autem dico voluptatem et tristitiam, concupiscentiam atque timorem, et quæ ex his nascuntur, quas in virtutes posse mutari dubium non est. . . . Si itaque vitia in virtutes, cum sibi invicem contraria sint, moveri non negamus; cur naturas inferiores in naturas superiores, dum sibi nullo modo adversantur, mirabili quadam adunatione transfundi negaverimus? Satis de his dictum." Ibid. L. v. 25, col. 916.

"Nam quod natura malum est, non potest semper existere. Naturam quippe mali et malitiæ æternam esse impossibile est. Substantia autem dæmonum nunquam peribit. Natura itaque mali non sunt. . . . Nam omnis corruptio, quæ in natura rerum mutabilium intelligitur, aut defectus perfectionis est, aut de specie in speciem transitus materiæ, aut generalium in specialia et specialium in generalia transmutatio, quæ omnia non mala, sed mutabilium rerum naturales qualitates et quantitates et conversiones intelliguntur. . . . Docet etiam, dæmones non secundum quod sunt, malos esse, ex optimo enim sunt, optimæque participes essentiæ, sed secundum quod non sunt, mali dicuntur. . . . Ac per hoc naturali necessitate sequitur, quod in eis est a summo Deo factum, solummodo in eis permansurum, nullo modo puniendum, quod autem ex Deo non est, illorum videlicet malitia, periturum, ne in aliqua creatura, sive humana, sive angelica, malitia possit fieri perpetua et bonitate cœterna." De Div. Nat., L. v. 28, coll. 933–935.

APPENDIX B.

The following sentences, from different parts of Bernard's writings, will perhaps sufficiently illustrate what has been said in the Lecture of his attitude toward the homage paid to the Virgin Mary, and toward the doctrine of her Immaculate Conception: —

Sed felix Maria, cui nec humilitas defuit, nec virginitas. Et quidem singularis virginitas, quam non temeravit, sed honoravit fecunditas; et nihilominus specialis humilitas, quam non abstulit, sed extulit fecunda virginitas. . . . Pulchra permixtio virginitatis et humilitatis; nec mediocriter placet Deo illa anima, in qua et humilitas commendat virginitatem, et virginitas exornat humilitatem. Sed quanta putas veneratione digna est, in qua humilitatem exaltat fecunditas, et partus consecrat virginitatem? . . . Utinam fluant in nos aromata illa, charismata scilicet gratiarum, ut de plenitudine tanta omnes accipiamus! Ipsa nempe mediatrix nostra, ipsa est per quam suscepimus misericordiam tuam, Deus; ipsa est per quam et nos Dominum Jesum in domos nostras excipi-

mus. . . . Crudelis nimium mediatrix Eva, per quam serpens antiquus pestiferum etiam ipsi viro virus infudit; sed fidelis Maria, quæ salutis antidotum et viris, et mulieribus propinavit. Illa enim ministra seductionis; hæc, propitiationis: illa suggessit prævaricationem, hæc ingessit redemptionem. Quid ad Mariam accedere trepidet humana fragilitas? . . . Non est equidem quod me magis delectet, sed nec quod terreat magis, quam de gloria Virginis Matris habere sermonem. . . . Loquamur pauca et super hoc nomine, quod interpretatum Maris stella dicitur, et Matri Virgini valde convenienter aptatur. O quisquis te intelligis in hujus sæculi profluvio magis inter procellas et tempestates fluctuare, quam per terram ambulare; ne avertas oculos a fulgore hujus sideris, si non vis obrui procellis. . . . Sed et illud quis vel cogitare sufficiat, quam gloriosa hodie mundi Regina processerit, et quanto devotionis affectu tota in ejus occursum cœlestium legionum prodierit multitudo; quibus ad thronum gloriæ canticis sit deducta; quam placido vultu, quam serena facie, quam lætis amplexibus suscepta a Filio, et super omnem exaltata creaturam, cum eo honore, quo tanta mater digna fuit, cum ea gloria, quæ tantum decuit Filium. — *Opera*, vol. prim., coll. 1671, 1669, 2139–40, 2156, 2152, 1683–84, 2138.

Honor Reginæ judicium diligit. Virgo regia falso non eget honore, veris cumulata honorum titulis, infulis dignitatum. . . . Ego vero quod ab illa accepi, securus et teneo, et trado; quod non, scrupulosius, fateor, admiserim. Accepi sane ab Ecclesia illum diem cum summa veneratione recolendum, quo assumpta de sæculo nequam, cœlis quoque intulit celeberrimorum festa gaudiorum. Sed et ortum Virginis didici nihilominus in Ecclesia, et ab Ecclesia indubitanter habere festivum atque sanctum; firmissime cum Ecclesia sentiens, in utero eam accepisse ut sancta prodiret. . . . Quid si alius, propter eamdem causam, etiam utrique parenti ejus festos honores asserat deferendos? Sed de avis et proavis idipsum posset pro simili causa quilibet flagitare; et sic tenderetur in infinitum, et festorum non esset numerus. . . . Solus itaque Dominus Jesus de Spiritu sancto conceptus, quia solus et ante conceptum sanctus. . . . Alioquin nulla ei ratione placebit contra Ecclesiæ ritum præsumpta novitas, mater temeritatis, soror superstitionis, filia levitatis. . . . Quæ autem dixi, absque præjudicio sane dicta sint sanius sapientis. Romanæ præsertim Ecclesiæ auctoritati atque examini totum hoc, sicut et cætera quæ ejusmodi sunt, universa reservo: ipsius, si quid aliter sapio, paratus judicio emendare. — *Opera*, vol. prim., epist. clxxiv., ad Canonicos Lugdunenses, coll. 389–393.

LECTURE VI.

BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX: AS A PREACHER.

LECTURE VI.

BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX: AS A PREACHER.

It is a common impression among those connected with Protestant communions that, whatever else has advanced or declined in modern times, the art of preaching has been carried to a point of power and success wholly unknown at an earlier day; that while the pomp of worship has been reduced, and the elaborate magnificence of church-ceremonial has suffered general diminution, since the days in which the wealth of the hierarchy was relatively greater, and in which principal moral impressions had to be made through an imposing ministry to the senses, the sermons of to-day are beyond question more careful, thoughtful, energetic, and inspiring, than they were of old, — comparing with those as signally as the steamship does with the felucca, or the palace-car with the rude wagon or the sluggish post-coach.

Within important limitations, this is very likely a reasonable impression. It is true, undoubtedly, that preaching is more commonly relied on now than it was six or seven centuries ago as the means of conveying Divine truth to those whom it reaches; and it is also true that sermons have now to address themselves to minds more variously active, more generally instructed, more exacting and critical, than were those which the preacher then usually met. The natural effect is to

make the sermons more diversified in instruction, more attentive doubtless to rhetorical form, perhaps more elaborate and artificial in structure. But in other respects it is not at all true that preaching has now more power than it had, or that it is more beneficently adapted to the great purposes which it has to serve; and nothing is more foolish than to fancy in our pride that in this great department of educating activity we have little to learn from those of the past; that only since the age of the Reformation have sermons had push and power in them to grapple and stir the souls of men. On the other hand, he who now preaches the Gospel, with any true understanding of its contents, and any eagerness of desire to lift men by it toward the heavens, stands in an illustrious series, which began with the Ascension, and which never for long has been interrupted. Each one who has wrought, with a consecrated spirit, in this sublime function, will be found, if we examine, to furnish guidance, or a fresh and noble force of impulse, to which we shall all do well to take heed.

The story of the post-apostolic preachers in the early Christian age, of their labor and patience, of the perils which they faced, the obstacles which they conquered, and the signal successes which they achieved, — if this could be written, it would surely be a narrative surpassing in fascination the most brilliant picture of simultaneous secular enterprise. The inspiration of the Divine Master, reaching and moving human minds, was hardly revealed in brighter examples even while the apostles were tarrying on earth; even where faithful men and women were dying for their Lord, in the arena or at the stake. Preaching was a chief office of the bishop, but presbyters also performed it, and sometimes laymen, as specially authorized. They preached

often daily, and not unfrequently twice in the day, in the larger churches; and because there was necessarily less of this service in the country parishes, it was regarded, by Chrysostom for example, as a sort of counterbalancing advantage that in those parishes were more graves of martyrs, from which voices spake inaudibly, but with such power of eloquent persuasion as living voices could not convey.[1] Gibbon himself admits, you know, the vast influence exerted by such preachers, through their use of an agency with which heathenism had never been acquainted.[2] John, of Antioch, better known through the world for fifteen centuries by his applied name of Chrysostom, was one, at least, of the most eloquent of the preachers who since the Apostolic time have brought to men the Divine tidings of truth and love. I should, for myself, put him in most respects at the head of all, for the admirable facility and variety, the intrepidity, the marvellous exuberance of thought and speech, and the consummate power with which at Antioch or Constantinople he presented the heavenly message to the fickle populace, to

[1] "Moreover, not so much in the cities as in the hamlets has God assembled the martyrs. . . . For they who inhabit cities are nourished by unremitting discourses, while they who dwell in country districts have not the same large opportunity. Therefore God has compensated their want of living teachers by abundance of the martyrs, and has so ordered things that more of these lie buried among those otherwise lacking instruction. They do not hear constantly the words of living teachers, but they hear the voice of martyrs resounding from the sepulchres, and addressing them with a voice of far greater virtue. And that ye may understand how much greater in this are the silent martyrs than we who speak, remember how often they who talk about virtue are themselves nowise proficient in it, while these silent ones, by the integrity and splendor of their life, are bringing to pass in others nobler deeds," *et seq.* — ΑΠΕΑΘΟΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ἡ ὁμιλία. κ. τ. λ., tom. ii. p. 651. Venice ed., 1734.

[2] Decline and Fall, vol. ii. pp. 485–86. London ed., 1848. See also Bingham, Antiquities of the Church, B. xiv. chap. 4.

the recalcitrant clergy, to the enraged court, as well as to the thoughtful, cultured, and devout, to whom his words of illuminating instruction were almost as if spoken by angels.

So Basil the Great was a preacher of memorable power and renown, as was Gregory Nazianzen; as were, indeed, almost all the Greek Fathers whose names and writings retain for us vital significance. It was to the preaching of Ambrose at Milan, as he divided the word of truth on each Lord's day among the people, that the careless, unbelieving, and passionate Augustine came, you remember, with a desire simply to measure the power and discover the secret of this famous eloquence, until he was led, insensibly to himself, by the learning, skill, and gracious energy of the discourse, to accept spiritually what he had listened to with rhetorical admiration, and to own for himself the Divine Master to whom Ambrose incessantly pointed and urged him.[1] Augustine himself was a preacher of prodigious resource, of wide repute, and at times of unsurpassed power. He preached sometimes for days in succession, sometimes twice in the day, with his whole soul intent on leading his hearers to a true and transforming faith in Christ, and to the culture in themselves of Christian grace. In all regions to which he came, as his pupil and first biographer tells us, he preached eagerly and sweetly the word of salvation.

The same zeal for preaching, if not always the same aptness and ability for it, continued among the leaders of the Church in the following centuries. Gregory the

[1] Confessions, lib. v. c. 13; lib. vi. c. 3. Nearly a hundred of the general sermons of Ambrose are preserved in his "Opera," with more than twenty additional, on the Psalm cxviii. Basil ed., 1567, tom. i. pp. 225–323, tom. iii. 599–766.

Great, by whom our pagan ancestors were evangelized, and who impressed himself most powerfully upon the Middle Age development, understood to the full the influence and the value of preaching, and exerted himself, with the wise energy which belonged to his character, to make it general among ministers of the Church. He preached much himself, and vehemently regretted that amid the multitudinous cares constantly pressing upon him it was not possible to do so more abundantly. His numerous and important writings largely grew out of his sermons, or were themselves sermons prepared with assiduous and affectionate care. By exhortation and command, as well as by example, he sought to stimulate others to preach, whether presbyters or bishops. He drew up an elaborate "Rule for Pastors," showing with great minuteness of detail, and with a wonderful carefulness in discriminating the various conditions and classes of minds represented in a congregation, how the truth should be presented that it might be most effective, with the temper of love, humility, consecration, which the preacher should maintain in himself.[1] Many of his instructions are as

[1] Regulæ Pastoralis Liber, Opera, tom. ii. Paris ed., 1705.

The art of teaching, he affirms, is the art of all arts. The life of the teacher must illustrate and enforce his words. He must therefore be pure in heart, and lofty in conduct. As the robe of the ancient priest was to be of purple, and doubly dyed scarlet, with linen cloth, adorned with gold and jacinth, to show the brilliant and manifold virtues which belonged to him, — the knowledge of wisdom being the gold, love the jacinth of the hue of the sky, the purple representing his royal office, the linen his purity, — so must the preacher of the Gospel be morally adorned; and as bells were hung on the priestly robe, interspersed with "red apples," so the voice of instruction must never be silent in the Christian pastor, while the apples signify the constancy of his faith. He must be sympathetic with the good, while severe against vices; must cultivate humility, not seek popularity, and never flatter; he must raise walls as of a fortress around the minds of those hearing him, to guard them from temptation, and must

pertinent to-day as they were when first set forth; and perhaps the great rule of Christian rhetoric has never been expressed more clearly or forcibly than in his words: "A mind occupied with external desires will not glow with the fire of Divine love; and no words will avail to inspire hearers to celestial desire, which proceed from a cold heart. Nothing which does not burn itself can kindle flame in anything else."[1] He in

occupy himself in meditation on the law of holiness. He must carefully adapt his discourse to those who hear, as one touches differently the different strings of a harp to make them sound in harmony, — admonishing men in one way, women in another; the young in one way, the older in another; distinguishing between the rich and the poor, the glad and the sorrowful, the ignorant and the learned, the modest and the shameless, the silent and those given to much speaking, whose minds are often muddied with their own talk; between the generous and the greedy, the peaceful and the quarrelsome; between even the married and the single; between those who will not begin a good thing, and those who begin but do not accomplish.

The whole Rule is full of practical suggestion, and his words at the close have a true pathos in them: "Pulchrum depinxi hominem, pictor fœdus; aliosque ad perfectionis littus dirigo, qui adhuc in delictorum fluctibus versor." (*Reg. Pastor*, quarta pars, Opera, tom. ii. col. 102. Paris ed., 1705.)

[1] Neque hoc speculatori sufficit, ut altum vivat, nisi et loquendo assidue ad alta auditores suos pertrahat, eorumque mentes ad amorem cœlestis patriæ loquendo succendat. Sed tunc hæc recte agit, cum lingua ejus ex vita arserit. Nam lucerna quæ in semetipsa non ardet, eam rem cui supponitur non accendit. Hinc enim de Joanne Veritas dicit: "Ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens." Ardens videlicet per cœleste desiderium, lucens per verbum. — *Hom. in Ezech.*, lib. i. Hom. 11, § 7, Opera, tom. i. coll. 1284.

Plerumque enim, ut prædiximus, sacræ legis eruditione fulciuntur, doctrinæ verba proferunt, omne quod sentiunt testimoniis accingunt, nec tamen per hæc vitam audientium, sed proprios favores quærunt, . . . Mens quippe concupiscentiis exterioribus occupata igne divini amoris non calet; et idcirco ad supernum desiderium inflammare auditores suos nequeunt verba, quæ frigido corde proferuntur. Neque enim res quæ in se ipsa non arserit, aliud accendit. — *Moralium*, lib. viii. in cap. 7 Job, tom. i. coll. 276–277.

The last words are in harmony with the old maxim in oratory: "Cujus vita fulgor, ejus verba tonitrua."

fact claimed so much as requisite for the fit preacher that his bishops became alarmed, and asked in dismay what should be done if men could not be found sufficient for the duty; whether it might not be deemed enough if men should know Jesus Christ and Him crucified, while unacquainted with other learning. His whole system of doctrine, while essentially Augustinian, was shaped and animated by the practical tendency which came with his preaching; and he who was the great interpreter of the greater theologian to the centuries which followed, commended thus the scheme which was dear to him to the minds eager like his to reach men with the truth, and to lead them to the Lord.[1]

The powerful impulse which he gave to preaching, and the Rule which he prepared for the performance of the office, were accepted and familiar two hundred years after, at the Court of Charlemagne; while Alfred, afterward, at the close of the ninth century, himself translated the Rule into the old English, or as we say, the Anglo-Saxon, for the benefit of his clergy. The duty of public preaching by the ministers of religion, and the intimate relation which it sustained to the welfare

[1] Est et aliud, fratres carissimi, quod me de vita Pastorum vehementer affligit; sed ne cui hoc injuriosum videatur fortasse quod assero, me quoque pariter accuso, quamvis barbarici temporis necessitate compulsus, valde in his jaceo invitus. Ministerium prædicationis relinquimus, et ad pœnam nostram, ut video, episcopi vocamur, qui honoris nomen, non virtutem tenemus. Relinquunt namque Deum hi qui nobis commissi sunt, et tacemus. In pravis actibus jacent, et correptionis manum non tendimus. Quotidie per multas nequitias pereunt, et eos ad infernum tendere negligenter videmus. . . . Usu quippe curæ terrenæ a cœlesti desiderio obdurescit animus; et dum ipso suo usu durus efficitur per actionem sæculi, ad ea emolliri non valet, quæ pertinent ad caritatem Dei. — *Hom. in Evang.*, lib. i. Hom. xvii., Opera, tom. i. coll. 1502–1503. Paris ed., 1705.

of the Church, were fully recognized by the great French and German Emperor, and he omitted no opportunity to impress this duty on those whom it concerned. Whether he could personally have borne long sermons, or those which touched with special severity on his favorite sins, may reasonably be doubted. But as a military commander he required officers and soldiers to be vigilant and faithful; as a civil ruler he would tolerate no negligence, and no inefficiency, in his assistants; and as the temporal head of religion he wished bishops and priests to do the whole work for which they were solemnly set apart; and what that was, the writings and the example of Gregory assisted him to discern. Alcuin, his chief literary and theological adviser, was in this of one mind with him, and no doubt stimulated, if he did not inspire, his intelligent zeal in this direction.[1] To the Archbishop of Orléans, who had received the pallium from Rome, that most prized gift of the pontiff, Alcuin wrote: "The pallium is the priestly diadem. But even as the flash of gems adorns the royal diadem, so faithfulness in preaching ought to add lustre to the pallium. That has its true honor in this, that he who bears it stands forth as a preacher of truth. Remember, that the tongue of priestly authority is the key of the heavenly kingdom, and the clearest trumpet of the armies of Christ. Wherefore be not silent, nor hold your peace, nor fear to speak, being assured that everywhere, in journeying and in working, you have Christ for your companion

[1] Alcuin addresses the Emperor himself as a true preacher: "Beata gens cujus est Dominus Deus eorum; et beatus populus tali rectore exaltatus, et tali prædicatore munitus; et utrumque et gladius triumphalis potentiæ vibrat in dextra et catholicæ prædicationis tuba resonat in lingua. — *Opera*, epist. xvii. tom. i. col. 169.

and ally."[1] He exhorted bishops to be diligent in the study of the Scriptures, that they might be better fitted to preach; he insisted upon it with the Emperor that presbyters and deacons should perform the office, and that the bishops should not be allowed to interpose hindrances, since the water of life must be freely offered to all, and if the subordinate officers were allowed to read homilies they might certainly be trusted to explain them;[2] and he sought, assiduously, so to foster Christian knowledge among the laity that they should be prepared with a true understanding to take part in the worship of God. He presented his thoughts about preaching very clearly in repeated letters to Charlemagne; insisting particularly on the necessity of instructing men in the immortality of the soul, the future life, the recompense awaiting respectively the good and the bad, and the eternity of their destiny; of showing them the sins on account of which they would have to suffer, and the good deeds which would bring

[1] Pallium sacerdotale diadema est. Sicut regium diadema fulgor gemmarum ornat, ita fiducia prædicationis pallii ornare debet honorem. In hoc enim honorem suum habet, si portitor veritatis prædicator existit. Memor esto sacerdotalis dignitatis linguam cœlestis esse clavem imperii, et clarissimam castrorum Christi tubam; quapropter ne sileas, ne taceas, ne formides loqui, habens ubique operis tui itinerisque Christum socium et adjutorem. — *Opera*, epist. cxlvii. col. 392.

[2] Et maximi prædicatores Ecclesiæ Christi charitatem Redemptoris nostri per verba sedulæ prædicationis populis ostendant. . . . Nam dicunt ab episcopis interdictum esse presbyteris et diaconibus prædicare in ecclesiis, dum in Apocalypsi legitur: Spiritus et sponsa dicunt, Veni! Et qui audiat, dicat, Veni! Qui sitit, veniat; qui vult, accipiat aquam vitæ. . . . Dicant enim in quibus canonibus interdictum sit presbyteris prædicare? Quin magis legant et intelligant, ab initio nascentis Ecclesiæ, quanti et quam mirabiles ex diverso clericorum ordine per totam mundi latitudinem fuere prædicatores, etiam et apostolica in diversas partes transmissi auctoritate. . . . Quare in Ecclesiis ubique ab omni ordine clericorum homiliæ leguntur? Quid est homilia, nisi prædicatio? Mirum est quod

them to the favor of Christ, and to eternal glory; and of carefully inculcating the faith in the Holy Trinity, and setting forth the advent of the Son of God for man's salvation. All this presupposed the direction afterward given by the Emperor, in some of his capitularies, that the preaching must be always of a sort to be understood by the common people, and it was fortified by the instructions of Augustine.[1]

This was of course in perfect harmony with the whole spirit of Alcuin, who himself wrote largely on theological, philosophical, historical, and literary subjects, who busied himself especially in securing and distributing copies of ancient manuscripts, and in revising the text of the Scriptures, and who could think of no gift so suitable to be made to the Emperor, on his accession to the imperial dignity, as a copy of the sacred writings carefully corrected by himself. But practically the same aim was shown by Leidrade, another of the

legere licet, et interpretari non licet, ut ab omnibus intelligatur? — *Opera*, epist. clxiii. coll. 426–427.

[1] Prius instruendus est homo de animæ immortalitate, et de vita futura, et de retributione bonorum malorumque, et de æternitate utriusque sortis. . . . Deinde fides sanctæ Trinitatis diligentissime docenda est, et adventus pro salute humani generis Filii Dei Domini nostri Jesu Christi in hunc mundum exponendus. Et de mysterio passionis illius, et veritate resurrectionis et gloria ascensionis in cœlos, et futuro ejus adventu ad judicandas omnes gentes: et de resurrectione corporum nostrorum, et de æternitate pœnarum in malos et præmiorum in bonos, mens novella firmanda est. — *Opera*, epist. xxxiii. tom. i. col. 190.

De officio prædicationis, ut juxta quod intelligere vulgus possit, assiduæ fiat. An. 813, Exc. Canon., § 14.

Other similar instructions occur in the Capitularies, e. g.: —

Ut fides Catholica ab Episcopis et Presbyteris diligenter legatur, et omni populo prædicetur. Et Dominicam orationem ipsi intelligant, et omnibus prædicent intelligendam, ut quisque sciat quid petat a Deo.

Ut ipsi sacerdotes, unusquisque secundum ordinem suum, prædicare et docere studeant plebem sibi commissam. (An. 810.)

friends and associates of Charlemagne, and made Archbishop of Lyons, A. D. 798. In a long letter from him to the Emperor, describing what he had accomplished after some years in his office, he speaks of churches rebuilt, of monasteries, episcopal mansions, of religious establishments founded, with other similar works; and he makes special mention of schools of singers instituted that the psalmody of the Church might be improved, and of schools of readers who should be taught to apprehend the spiritual meaning of the Holy Books, and to make this apparent to others.

It was plainly a purpose of Church-leaders at the time, encouraged and set forward by imperial impulse, to bring the meaning of the Word to the minds of congregations, regulating their manners, reaching their hearts, and confirming and establishing them in the faith by the agency of preaching. Théodulf, another of the counsellors of the Emperor, and Bishop of Orléans from A. D. 784 to A. D. 794, went further, in the establishment of schools for children and youth in his diocese, where they should be taught without fee, except what the parents might choose to give; and he admonished his clergy to be always ready to give instruction in the Scriptures to any who should seek it. It is not therefore surprising that the council of Mayence should have decreed, A. D. 813, that if the bishop were absent for any necessary reason some one should always be present to preach, on Sundays and on fast-days; or that the council of Arles should have directed, in the same year, that not only in cities but in country parishes, as well, the priests should preach.[1]

That care was given to the mere matter of reading the Scriptures, beyond what sometimes is given among us, is

[1] See Neander, Hist. of Church, iii. p. 125.

evident enough from the instructions given by Rabanus Maurus, afterward Archbishop of Mayence, who wrote on the subject A. D. 819. He would not allow one to take holy orders until he should have been five years among the readers, and four years a sub-deacon; and even as a reader he must be imbued with learning, conversant with books, instructed in the meaning of words, and able to read, now as narrating, now as lamenting, by turns as rebuking, exhorting, inquiring; with a clear voice, strong, cultivated, not too high and not too low, not mouthing his words, and without affectation. He illustrates the importance of right reading by the words in the epistle to the Romans: "Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect? It is God who justifieth." The latter clause, if read affirmatively, would occasion, he says, great error. It should be read interrogatively, that the answer "No" may be tacitly sug gested; and so with each of the following clauses.[1] It might not be amiss to have his book now in some of our Seminaries.

In the dire decadence and all-involving confusion,

[1] Of the Readers he says: "Illi prædicant populis quid sequantur. Licet et quidam lectores ita miseranter pronuntient, ut quosdam ad luctum lamentationemque compellant. Tanta enim et tam clara eorum erit vox, ut quantumvis longe positorum aures adimpleant." — *De Cleric. Inst.*, lib. i. c. 11.

Quicunque enim officium decenter et rite peragere vult, doctrina et libris debet esse imbutus, sensuumque ac verborum scientia perornatus, ita ut in distinctionibus sententiarum intelligat ubi finiatur junctura, etc. etc. . . . Discernendo genera pronuntiationum, atque exprimendo proprios sententiarum affectus, modo voce indicantis simpliciter, modo dolentis, modo indignantis, modo increpantis, etc., etc. Multa sunt enim in Scripturis, quæ nisi proprio modo pronuntientur, in contrariam recedunt sententiam, sicut est illud Apostoli: Quis accusabit adversus electos Dei? Deus qui justificat. Quod si quasi infirmitative, non servato genere pronuntiationis suæ, dicatur, magna perversitas oritur, etc. — *Ibid.*, lib. ii. cap. 52.

in both Church and State, which followed the reign of Charlemagne, and which almost threatened the relapse of Europe into utter barbarism, the function of preaching suffered of course with all interests of letters and of religion. But with the partial re-establishment of public order, and especially with the wide and powerful revival of the Church-spirit under Hildebrand, in the eleventh century, two tendencies appeared, each vigorous, and each calling for earnest preaching on the part of the clergy. One of these was the strong missionary tendency, which of course inhered in the Gospel, and had never wholly failed in the Church, forming in fact an inexhaustible element of its persistent life and power, but which then revealed itself with fresh and vast energy, making religion felt as a force in barbarous lands as well as in those nominally Christian. The other was the tendency to combat, limit, if possible conquer, the separatist influences which were widely appearing, leading men out from all association with what they regarded as the decayed secular Church, whose sacraments they renounced, whose clergy they equally hated and despised, and from which they turned either to the bare letter of the Scriptures or to enticing mystical traditions imported from the East. The Catharists, Paulicians, Petrobrusians, more nobly than others the Waldensians, represent the drifts in this direction which were then widely in motion, and which wrought with a vast, often no doubt a salutary power. They made minds freer, hearts more earnest; and they gave a certain prophetic warning of what might be expected from the profound and detonating forces lodged in souls which God had touched, whenever the pressure of priestly rule should become too violent. Hildebrand himself had practically though unconsciously encour-

aged these influences, when, in his zeal for priestly celibacy, he had urged the laity to refuse the sacraments as administered by married priests, thus making the virtue of even principal rites dependent on the moral and personal virtue of those by whom they were administered. He thus gave impulse, and in a sense pontifical sanction, to a disposition natural to men, which afterward long and widely reappeared.

We have thus before us what need there was of earnest preaching in the twelfth century, what a past was behind it, and what incentives there were to it, on the part of men whose convictions and feelings were like those of Bernard; whose desire was like his, to bring men, and to keep them, beneath the power of what to him was the superlative doctrine of Redemption. Men all around him were ignorant of the truth, as that truth was accepted by his intent and ardent spirit; while these aggressive, innovating doctrines which challenged his and contravened them, were constantly being propagated by preaching. It was only natural, therefore, that he should seek to limit the spread of these novel doctrines, and to counteract their impression, by the same moral but powerful agency.

The Roman Breviary had been put, as I have said, into the form which it principally retains in the latter part of the eleventh century, not long before the birth of Bernard, under the direction of Gregory Seventh, and was widely in use. It contained the Psalter, the Scripture Lessons, with the Homilies and the Hymnary, besides the Creeds and the Lord's Prayer, but not the apocryphal legends of the saints, nor the invocations of saints or the addresses to the Virgin Mary, which came into it afterward. It gave of course in large measure the tone, as well as the law, to public worship;

and those familiar with the Anglican Liturgy, which is partly derived from its rich fulness, with those more especially who have studied for themselves the four large volumes, one for each season of the year, into which the great Roman service-book is divided, will easily understand what a power it had, in its compact and abbreviated form, for the religious instruction of both clergy and people. Devout minds, daily perusing it, must have been stimulated to the office of preaching, as well as directed in its performance. Printing was of course unknown. The multiplication of manuscripts was difficult and slow. Oral teaching was the necessary means for resisting heresy, or vigorously disseminating the important Church-doctrine. It was therefore widely practised. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries one might almost say that Europe was full of it, whether or not this accords with our common impression.

Guibert, abbot of Nogent — who like Bernard had been trained by a holy mother;[1] who would not receive gifts of gold and silver for his monastery, but who eagerly accepted the parchments on which the Scriptures might be transcribed; who was vehement against all worship of relics, and insisted upon the imperative duty of spiritual contemplation — wrote an essay, early in the twelfth century, on the right way of making sermons;[2]

[1] Primum potissimumque itaque gratias ago quod pulchram, sed castam, modestam mihi matrem, timoratissimamque contuleris. — V. GUIBERTI, *De Vita Sua*, lib. i. cap. 2; Opera [Migne], col. 839.

[2] The "Liber quo ordine Sermo," Opera, coll. 21–32.

L'éditeur des œuvres de Guibert a mis à la tête de ses écrits un petit traité très-méthodique et très-instructif sur la manière de prêcher. Le P. Alexandre l'a jugé si solide, qu'il en conseille la lecture à tous ceux qui se préparent à ce saint mystère, ou qui sont chargés d'annoncer la parole de Dieu. — *Hist. Littér.*, tom. x. p. 453.

to the effect, in brief, that it was a duty not confined to bishops or abbots, but common to all who had the gifts and knowledge for it, with Christian faith; that the preacher must regard the needs of the simple and unlearned, and strive to unite simplicity of expression with depth of thought; that the sermon should be preceded by prayer in order that the soul, fired by love, may set forth in glowing words what it feels of God; that it ought to be practical, treating ethical matters, and written out of one's own experience, since the spiritual warfare, like a battle in the field, will be always best described by one who has passed through it. The tract and its instructions are well deserving of modern attention. The writer thoroughly knew what good and effective preaching was, and how men should prepare for it. Many others, then or in times succeeding, endeavored in a like spirit to accomplish the sacred duty.

Of Norbert, for example, we know, founder of the order of Premonstrants, born a little before Bernard, converted from a careless life, as Luther is said to have been, by a terrific blaze of lightnings,[1] and afterward going everywhere in Germany and France as a preacher of repentance, discoursing in public, and then conversing with persons in private on the state of their souls, seeking to establish, wherever it was possible, his society of teaching and itinerating monks. So we know of Rob-

[1] Cum vero, cum miro tam equitaturæ quam sericæ vestis apparatu, procedent in prati virentis amœnitate, subito densantur nubes, insurgunt procellæ terrent tonitrua, micant fulgura et tempestates; villæ refugia procul; spiritus potestatem tempestatum habens, terrores incutit, et mortis horrendæ responsa. . . . Post horæ spatium surgit homo quasi de gravi somno; sed et reversus ad se, tactus dolore cordis intrinsecus dicere cœpit intra se: Domine, quid me vis facere? Et statim, quasi responderetur, Desine a malo, et fac bonum; inquire pacem, et persequere eam. — *Vita S. Norberti; Act. Sanct.* [sex. Jun.], tom. xx. p. 821.

ert of Arbrissel, devoting himself in the same way to the proclamation of redemption in Christ; by whom the mother of Peter the Venerable was led to devote herself and her son to the life of religion; who exerted such an astonishing influence on men and women that the vicious were reformed, those at enmity were reconciled, and every one who heard felt himself singled out from the others, and personally addressed; whose beneficent miracles wrought on men's souls were declared by his disciples to be more amazing than any which could have been wrought on their bodies.[1] Of many others, traces remain in history; as of an obscure priest near Paris, who suddenly was seized by the conviction that he had been injuring his people by his sinful neglect, who went to Paris to learn what he should preach, and who afterward addressed vast assemblies in the city and the country, in all places of public concourse, till he absolutely shook the nation with his plain and fervent sermons, and sent disciples to England for a similar work. Of this man, followed as he was by others of a similar temper, and an equal consecration to the work of calling men to repentance, ample notices occur on the familiar pages of Neander.[2] It would be well if

[1] Sermo ejus non poterat esse non efficax, quia, ut ita dixerim, omnibus omnia erat; pœnitentibus lenis, austerus vitiosis, lugentibus blandus et facilis; virga irreverentium, baculus senum et vacillantium; pectore gemebundus, oculo madidus, consilio serenus. Hunc profecto dixerim, habitaculum Jesu Christi, templum et organum Spiritus sancti, Responsalem et Vicarium Altissimi. — *Vita B. Roberti*, cap. iii. 18; *Acta Sanct.* v. p. 606.

[2] Hist. of Church, vol. iv. pp. 209–211.

In the Hist. Littéraire are specially mentioned, within a few sentences, after Robert of Arbrissel, Bernard de Tiron, Vital de Mortain, Raoul de la Fûtaie, Gerard de la Sale, Vital, Roger a disciple of Norbert, Erleband dean of Cambrai, Arnoul, Hughes, bishop of Grenoble, Gebouin archdeacon of Troies, Gregory archbishop of Bordeaux, Jean de Bellême, Itier

students of theology, and all ministers of religion, would carefully reflect on such examples, and would study them more at large than in any concise summaries; and they illustrate, with vivid force, a tendency of the time, wide-spread and energetic, the effects of which were often immensely beneficial. They show the rebound of mind, both in teachers and in hearers, from the condition of dumb ignorance, if not of sullen carelessness of things human or Divine, in which the chaos of the preceding centuries had largely left men. They were prophetic of still better things to come.

A little later, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, Francis of Assisi entered in young manhood upon his astonishing career, who preached alike to poor and rich, to the noble and the obscure, before kings, popes, cardinals, and before the Sultan, and who sent out his companions, two by two, in rough clothing, barefoot, without money, to regenerate the world by proclamation of the truth. He would not allow them to be detained, he would not be detained himself, even by the difficulties presented by unknown tongues. He seems to have felt either that the Spirit would give them miraculous utterance in languages which they had not mastered, or that the essential meaning of their message would make itself felt in hearts and minds to which the terms in which it was expressed were unfamiliar; and that message he devoutly believed to be the very power of God unto salvation.[1] His missiona-

clerk of Auxerre, Foulques curé of Neuilly, mentioned above. The Historian says, without intentional exaggeration, "Ceux d'entre des François qui fierent usage de leur éloquence à annoncer la parole de Dieu, et prêcher les vérités du salut, sont presque sans nombre." — *Hist. Litt.* tom. ix. pp. 379-381.

[1] Admirabili animi modestia prædítus, simplicium et tenuium plus quam magnatum frequentabat colloquia, neque divitem pauperi, vel no-

ries mingled familiarly with the common people, wherever they went; they preached wherever the chance was offered, in church or street, in court-yard or field; and they went far,— to Greece, Egypt, North Africa, to Spain, France, Germany, Hungary, England. The bishops who loved the souls of their people welcomed their coming; and into their hands, with those of the Dominicans, their followers and rivals in the same great office, fell practically for years the most effective public teaching of Christendom. No doubt it was often extravagant, incorrect, as judged by our standards; but the fiery heart of Francis, intense yet tender, was in it for years after he himself had been laid to rest; and it is not possible to see how the further religious development in Europe, in the subsequent centuries, could have been reached without this energetic and wide preparation. Bonaventura, also of the Franciscan order, and afterward the head of it, by whom the mystical theology was presented with rare dialectic skill, as well as with the glow of an illuminated intelligence, and whose impression upon his time, as I need not remind you, was most wide and profound, was also an eager preacher of the truth, as he conceived that; and

bilem rustico præferebat æstimando; sed omnibus se exhibebat æqualem, citra acceptionem personarum. . . . Sæpius dixerit suis religiosis, quorum ego, Frater N., unus eram, quod ituri essemus in regionem longinquam, ubi nec incolarum linguam intelligeremus ipsi, neque nostra ab indigenis intelligeretur. Cui dicebamus: Quid ergo, Pater bone, istuc vis ire, ubi nec intelligemus alios, nec ipsi ab illis sumus intelligendi? At ille respondit, Talis erit voluntas Dei. . . . Fratres illud in risum verterent, haberentque pro somnio. Verum eventus rei veritatem prædictionis probavit, ut apparet manifeste; quapropter pie possumus credere in eo fuisse spiritum prophetiæ. . . . Austera illius conversatio, salubris nobis omnibus prædicatio erat; in hoc autem videbatur intentus semper, ut parum comedens et parum quiescens, oraret et laboraret multum. —*Vita S. Francis; Acta Sanct.*, ix. pp. 109, 9; 111, 24; 119, 58.

Thomas Aquinas, undoubtedly the profoundest theologian of his age, one of the four great Doctors of the Church, not only preached, but preached most simply and most grandly, preparing for the office with fervent prayer, and striving with all his power to make the noblest thoughts of truth instructive and impressive to the humblest of his hearers.[1] Even Innocent Third, amid

[1] A brilliant picture is presented by Vaughan of the appearance of Bonaventura and Thomas Aquinas before the University of Paris. Of Bonaventura he says: "Representing the sweet, soaring, passionate mysticism of the seraphic S. Francis, he knew how to control love's darting flames, and to bring theologic science to bear upon the highest aspirations of the heart. His intensely affectionate nature, his warm Italian fantasy, and his yearning love of the wounds of the Crucified; his tenderness and compassion to the suffering and the poor, and the poetical bent of his mystic mind, which made him love and defend Plato as a father, — all this, there is little doubt, had before this day stamped his true image on the plastic and appreciative mind of the Paris University. . . . His face is grave, yet so tender an expression beams forth from it that men, when they once come under its influence, are seized with a feeling of indescribable sympathy. There is one special mark upon him which seals a supernatural impress on the whole character of the man, — his cheeks are furrowed with the courses made by frequent tears, springing from his burning love of the wounds of his Saviour."

Of Thomas he says: "Men did not know, as he sat there 'with the striking elegance of ease,' that in the dark night, amidst the shadows of the church, he had wept his heart out, prostrate before the altar. They were not aware of the fact, but for all that they were impressed by its effect. The supernatural power which was in him spoke to them. And when he began, and gave out his thesis, with his deep, commanding voice, 'Thou waterest the hills from Thy upper rooms: the earth shall be filled with the fruit of Thy works,' a tremor must have passed across every heart in the great concourse, and men must have looked at each other with awe, admiration, and an unconscious feeling of surprise. His whole plan lay clear before him. His central idea was Christ as the Redeemer and the Restorer of mankind. The eternal hills represent the everlasting Church of God; the upper rooms are the mansions of the blessed; and the waters which are poured out from thence are the supernatural graces and unctions which proceed from His life-giving Spirit. . . . It included the entire range of theology; it treated of God and man, and their relations. . . . The great

the vast labors and strifes of his memorable pontificate, would not be deterred from the earnest personal preaching of the Word, and only regretted that the incessant occupation of his mind with the urgent external duties and cares pertaining to his office compelled him to limit if not to forego preparation for such labor. His example gave the highest sanction of the time to the duty and the beauty of the work of proclaiming, by oral discourse, the message of Redemption which Christ had brought.

It was not, therefore, an unfamiliar work to the best and most active spirits of Europe, in Bernard's time or afterward, this of preaching what was accepted as the Gospel of Christ; and the effects of it were shown, in the frequent conversion of those who had led violent or profligate lives, in the turning of those comparatively free from gross offences to a wholly unsecular and religious

Act has been accomplished. The streets hum again with a noisy crowd, and men retire to their ordinary occupations, their hearts soothed with tenderness, and warmed with admiration, as they bear away, imprinted on their imaginations like a picture, the graceful and majestic image of the Angel of the Schools. — R. B. VAUGHAN: *Life and Labors of S. Thomas of Aquin.*, vol. ii. pp. 104–106, 112–117. London ed., 1872.

The testimony as to his habit of preparing for discourse by prayer came from those who knew him best. "Rainauld, his confessor, knew, for certain, that the Saint gained everything by prayer. On one occasion, during class, the conversation fell on the great Angelical. Rainauld burst into tears, and exclaimed, "Brothers, my master forbade me, during his life, to tell the wonderful things he did! One thing I know of him, that it was not human talent but *prayer* that was the secret of his great success. He never discussed, read, wrote, or dictated, without begging with tears for illumination." Tocco says that he thus acquired all he knew.

On one occasion, in a sermon on the Passion, in S. Peter's, he so vividly brought home to the congregation the sufferings of the Cross, and drew so touching a picture of the compassion, mercy, and love of Christ, that his words were interrupted by the passionate crying of the people. Then, on Easter Sunday, his sermon on the Resurrection filled the congregation with jubilant triumph. Ibid., vol. i. pp. 459–460, 443–444.

career, and in the widening study of the Scripture. Efforts were made, as we know, especially in Germany and Southern France, to get translations of the Scripture in the vernacular; and even Innocent Third did not discourage these at first, though he afterward resisted them as antagonistic to hierarchical interests. Such efforts had been quickened by the preaching which preceded them, while they looked eagerly toward more preaching to follow. What the separatists were doing in another direction, that the ministers of the Catholic faith must certainly do, for those who would accept if they clearly understood it. It was thus only natural that Bernard, with his intense convictions, profoundly impressed with the peril of men and with the grace and glory which met in Redemption, should apply himself with diligent energy to the use of this proved and powerful instrument, for the furtherance of the aims which to him were supreme. And it was only characteristic of the moral and mental genius of the man that he should become, what he certainly was, one of the most distinguished preachers known in France up to his time or since.

His own humility, however, concerning his fitness for the office was unfeigned and profound. In the midst of his most astonishing successes, when his fame was at its height, he held himself as of no account; and when the most signal honors came to him, from popular assemblages, or from those in high station, he was wont to regard these, as I have previously said, as being paid to some one else, with whom he had really nothing to do. He delighted to interchange thought with the simple-minded among his brethren, but confessed that in any assembly, however humble, he never spoke without fear and awe, much preferring to keep silence, except as he

was impelled to speak by the pricks of conscience, the fear of God, and the love of the brethren. But this tender humility was combined in him with such abounding liberty of spirit that, as the same contemporary reports, he seemed to reverence every man, but to fear no man.[1] His supreme aim and sole reward were in the fruits of faith in contrite and believing souls; and no applause for the beauty or power of his discourse appears for a moment to have been either sought or thought of by him.

One cannot doubt that the key to his incessant labor, and to his joy in it, is in the words which he wrote to an eminent bishop, who had written to him in terms of eulogy: "If the good seed," he says, "thrown upon good ground, is seen to bring forth fruit, His is the glory who gave the seed to the sower, the fruitfulness to the ground, the increase to the seed. What can I take to myself in these things? Certainly the law of the Lord converteth souls, and not I; the testimony of the Lord maketh wise the simple, and not I. The hand is praised — not the pen — for the good turning of letters in a manuscript. I confess, however, that I attribute this

[1] Summus reputabatur ab omnibus, infimum ipse se reputans; et quem sibi omnes, ipse se nemini præferebat. Denique, sicut nobis sæpius fatebatur, inter summos quosque honores et favores populorum, vel sublimium personarum, alterum sibi mutuatus hominem videbatur, seque potius reputabat absentem, velut quoddam somnium suspicatus. Ubi vero simpliciores ei fratres, ut assolet, fiducialius loquerentur, et amica semper liceret humilitate frui; ibi se invenisse gaudebat, et in propriam rediisse personam. . . . Nunquam tamen (sicut sæpe eum audivimus protestantem) in quamlibet humili cœtu sine metu et reverentia verbum fecit, tacere magis desiderans, nisi conscientiæ propriæ stimulis urgeretur, timore Dei, charitate fraterna. . . . Et quidem in libertate spiritus Dei Famulus excellenter enituit, cum humilitate et mansuetudine tamen, ut quodam modo videretur et vereri neminem, et omnem hominem revereri. — *Opera*, vol. sec., Vita i. lib. iii. cap. 7, coll. 2206, 2208.

much to myself, that my tongue is as the pen of a ready writer."[1] The lessons which he taught his disciples of the beauty of humility, as the root of all virtues and the greatest of all, since it does not recognize itself as being a virtue while it is the virtue in which all others begin, by which they are furthered, in which they are consummated, and by which they are maintained,[2] were charmingly illustrated in all his life, but nowhere perhaps more signally than in his career as a preacher. Whatever he accomplished he ascribed only to God, feeling and saying that he could neither will nor perform any good thing except by Divine impulse and guidance. He likens humility in one of his sermons to the auroral morning light, which finishes the night, and ushers in the day, vanquishing the shadows, announcing the splendor.[3] And that light lies on his sermons, as a beauty breaking upon them always from highest realms.

But this humility, though so delicate and profound, did not limit or enfeeble the utterance by Bernard of any thought commended to him as true and important, of any feeling with which his soul at the time was charged. There was no more trace of timidity in it than in the temper of Paul, when he spoke of himself as the least of the Apostles, who yet had labored more abundantly than they all. It was, in fact, only an element of added power in the preaching of the great Abbot,

[1] Opera, vol. prim., epist. cxxxv. col. 344.

[2] See Sermo Guerrici Abbatis. — *Opera*, vol. sec., col. 1911.

[3] Aurora quippe finis est noctis, et initium lucis. Aurora ergo quæ fugat tenebras, lucem nuntiat, merito humilitatem designat; quia sicut illa diem et noctem, ita ista dividit justum et peccatorem. Nam hinc, id est ab humilitate, justus quisque incipit, et inde proficit. Unde etiam ipsa aurora consurgens dicitur, ut videlicet virtutum structura surgens ab humilitate, tanquam proprio fundamento erigatur. — *Opera*, vol. prim., Ser. de Diversis, xci. col. 2530.

while it certainly never detained him for half a minute from any service, on platform or in pulpit, to which the Lord appeared to have called him. Devout activity was not only a constant impulse with him, it was his solace and his restorative, amid many infirmities and innumerable cares. He rested in his work, like an onflowing river, and chafed when interrupted, as the stream which runs fretting among rocks. His whole theological system, as I have said, implied preaching as the great instrument of grace, the means, under God, of quickening and nurturing in human hearts the desires, affections, high contemplations, the knowledge of the Word, and the intimate powerful bent of the soul toward God, the result of which should be in holy fellowship with Divine persons and heavenly things, and at last in the Beatific Vision. The sacraments were also means for this, with an efficacy not inherent, but derived from the Divine appointment. But preaching was not only to call men to the sacraments, but to fit them to receive these with the intelligent and welcoming spirit which was needful to vital profit from them.

The mystical theology had always such supremacy in the thought of its disciples, the goods which it proposed were so transcendent, the honor which it put on human nature was so lofty and animating, while its conviction of human need was so deep and controlling, that when united, as in Bernard, with a practical spirit, an active, exuberant, indefatigable genius, and an earnest desire to benefit men, it pushed to activity in writing and in speech with a steadiness and a vigor which perhaps no form of doctrine has surpassed. It had an authority, too, essential and vivid, for those who held it. Though a spiritual system, it was to Bernard as real and evident, almost as palpable, as the visible heavens; verified by its

own tender sublimities; verified by the holiness which filled it with incandescent glow, even more than by any gleam of miracles illustrious on its front. He believed the propagation of it essential to the welfare of man, as well as essential, beyond everything else, to the manifestation of the glory of God. No doubt concerning it fettered his powers, or put a momentary stammer upon his discourse; and he set it forth, with fearless and commanding freedom, in the monastic auditorium or in the cathedral, before his few scores of daily companions, in the presence of pope and cardinals, or before multitudinous popular assemblies.[1] He never apologized for the message which he declared, any more than the sunshine pauses to apologize for the light which it brings, or for the sun which it reveals. He believed, and therefore spoke. Intensity of conviction was the force which moulded and pushed into utterance every sermon; and if ten thousand should be against him their numbers would only make it more needful that they be answered and overborne. According to his assured conviction, he stood on rock in his belief, and not on any precarious scaffold which man had builded; and the preachers of a

[1] Sermo ei, quoties opportuna inveniebatur occasio, ad quascumque personas de ædificatione animarum, prout tamen singulorum intelligentiam, mores et studia noverat, quisbusque congruens auditoribus erat. Sic rusticanis plebibus loquebatur, ac si semper in rure nutritus; sic cæteris quibusque generibus hominum, velut si omnem investigandis eorum operibus operam impendisset. Literatus apud eruditos, apud simplices simplex, apud spirituales viros perfectionis et sapientiæ affluens documentis; omnibus se coaptabat, omnes cupiens lucrifacere Christo. . . . Siquidem diffusa erat gratia in labiis ejus, et ignitum eloquium ejus vehementer, ut non posset ne ipsius quidem stilus, licet eximius, totam illam dulcedinem, totum retinere fervorem. Mel et lac sub lingua ejus; nihilominus in ore ejus ignea lex. . . . Nam et confessus est aliquando, sibi meditanti vel oranti sacram omnem, velut sub se positam et expositam, apparuisse Scripturam. — *Opera*, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. iii. coll. 2193-94.

later time, perhaps of our own time, whose principal creed has sometimes seemed to be the uncertainty of all things, — whose controlling conviction the impropriety of conviction, — might learn true wisdom from his example. His creed was a banner, never a burden; his faith an inspiration, never a shackle. "I walk in full assurance," he said, "in the faith of the Creator of all nations; and I *know* that I shall never be confounded."

Luther declared him, you remember, without hesitation, the best of all the Doctors in his sermons; better, he added, than in his disputations, though even as a theologian he ranked him after only Augustine and Ambrose.[1] Certainly, if the great Reformer were right in saying that a man who undertakes to serve the people must be of a great and high spirit, — that the preacher must not only have good judgment, good memory and wit, and a good voice, but must be sure of his doctrine, and be ready to venture body and soul, wealth and honor, upon the word; that he must be both shepherd and soldier, able to nourish and to teach, able also to defend and to fight,[2] —I do not know where he could have found one, in all the past, more worthy of his praise, or answering more closely to his description. Nor, indeed, when he adds that "an upright, godly, and true preacher should direct his discourse to the poor and simple sort of people; like a mother, who sings to her child, dandles and plays with it, presenting it with milk from her own breast, and needing neither malmsey nor muscadine for it."[3] In all these things Bernard was a preacher after Luther's own

[1] Michelet, Life of Luther [Bohn], p. 273.

[2] Table Talk, cxlvii., cccc., cccciii. Goethe's words to Eckermann practically repeat the maxim of Luther: that "if one would write in a noble style he must first possess a noble soul." — *Conversations*, 102.

[3] Table Talk, ccccxxvii.

heart. The rough and heroic miner's son, who fought the papacy with the unflagging spirit and the terrible energy which smote Europe asunder, might well be aware of a certain noble sympathy of spirit with the chivalrous monk who had done as much as any in the past to lift that Europe out of the foul preceding darkness toward clearer light. The Reformer of Wittenberg was not a whit more fearless in spirit, or more unsparing in stimulating speech, than had been before the Abbot of Clairvaux.[1] Any one who would influence others by the instrument of public discourse may well study each of them, with a mind wide open to the suggestions both of their struggles and their success.

It is of course to be observed that Bernard learned by practice, only, the art in which he became a master. It was true of him, as was long ago said in the Hebrew proverb: "The wise in heart shall be called prudent, and the sweetness of the lips increaseth knowledge."[2] His early and brief studies in the schools, which had failed to deeply engage his heart and had been soon interrupted, could not in the nature of the case have contributed largely to the fascinating eloquence afterward shown in him. It was by incessant exercise and self-discipline, in the actual performance of public ser-

[1] Quam vero placabilem et persuasibilem, quamque eruditam linguam dederit ei Deus, ut sciret quem et quando deberet proferre sermonem, quibus videlicet consolatio vel obsecratio, quibus exhortatio congrueret vel increpatio; nosse potuerunt aliquatenus qui ipsius legerint scripta, etsi longe minus ab eis qui verba ejus sæpius audierunt. . . . Inde erat quod Germanicis etiam populis loquens miro audiebatur affectu, et ex sermone ejus quem intelligere, ut pote alterius linguæ homines, non valebant, magis quam ex peritissimi cujuslibet post eum loquentis interpretis intellecta locutione, ædificari illorum devotio videbatur, et verborum ejus magis sentire virtutem; cujus rei certa probatio tunsio pectorum erat, et effusio lacrymarum. — *Opera*, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. iii. col. 2194.

[2] Or, "grace on the lips increaseth learning." Prov. 16, 21.

vice, that he came to be what he finally was; and the comparison of his earlier sermons with his later makes this apparent. His instructor in preaching, as in the entire conduct of his life, was simply the Love, toward God and man, which urged him to speak of the Lord's redemption, in the way most moving and most impressive. Enthusiasm gave him both impulse and training. The swift and strong currents of thought cut their own channels, and took the rushing or tranquil course most natural to them. The concentrated purpose detected and defined the appropriate methods.

At Clairvaux he preached, usually, every day to his assembled associates, at such hour of the day as might best suit the general convenience. Such frequent preaching was not general in Cistercian convents; but, as his physical feebleness limited his labors in other directions, he was the more eager to minister in this way to those whose spiritual welfare he might advance. He said himself that he preached as much as he did only because urged to do so by the bishops, and by other abbots; that he should not do it if he could take his part with others in outside work, which would be perhaps a more effectual instruction to them, as well as more agreeable to his own conscience; but that since he was hindered from this by the manifold infirmities of his burdensome body, he took up the other form of service — only hoping, as he touchingly says, that "speaking, and not doing, I may yet be worthy to be reckoned, although the least of all, in the kingdom of God." [1]

[1] Veruntamen quod aliquoties vobis loquimur præter consuetudinem Ordinis nostri, non nostra id agimus præsumptione, sed de voluntate venerabilium fratrum et coabbatum nostrorum, qui id nobis injungunt. . . . Neque enim modo loquerer vobis, si possem laborare vobiscum. Illud

His custom was to meditate his sermons in his cell, or in a rustic arbor erected in a secluded part of the valley, there pondering the Scriptures, making his notes for the discourses, and seeking in prayer Divine assistance. He preached, usually at least, in a wholly extemporaneous manner, with little or no reference to his notes; and the reports which we have of his sermons are those made by the monks who heard them, though they may sometimes have passed under his revision.[1] Of course, as thus reported, only fragments of many are left, — sometimes like severed arms or limbs in a sculptor's studio, here a head, and there a torso; and we cannot perhaps be always sure of their perfect agreement with the discourses as delivered, though their extreme reverence for him must have effectually prevented the monks from intentional change of what he had said, or conscious intrusion into it of foreign matter. We have thus remaining, in whole or in part, nearly three hundred and fifty reports of discourses, on manifold subjects, and of quite various measures of interest. They are in Latin, and were undoubtedly originally delivered in Latin, though the fact that among the

forte vobis efficacius verbum foret, sed et conscientiæ meæ magis acceptum. Cæterum quando id mihi peccatis meis exigentibus, et onerosi hujus (ut ipsi scitis) tam multiplici infirmitate corporis, et ipsa quoque temporis necessitate negatur; utinam dicens et non faciens, in regno Dei vel minimus merear inveniri. *Opera*, vol. prim., Ser. x. in Psal. Qui Habitat, col. 1887.

[1] Aliqui fratres ex his qui me coram audiere loquentem, suo stilo exceperunt, et penes se retinent. Utinam, quod minime spero, nostra vobis in aliquo possit esse officiosa rusticitas. *Opera*, vol. prim., epist. xviii.; col. 163.

Si quominus tamen, scripta sunt ut dicta sunt, et excepta stilo, sicut et sermones cæteri, ut facile recuperetur quod forte exciderit. — Vol. prim., Ser. in Cantic., liv. col. 2989.

Testantur hoc scripta ejus, quæ vel ipse scripsit, vel alii scripserunt, sicut ex ore ejus exceperunt. Vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. i. 70, col. 2140.

monks must have been those not wholly familiar with the language, with the additional fact that a translation of the sermons into the French of the twelfth or thirteenth century has been preserved in a library at Paris, has led some to question if they were not at first pronounced in that dialect. But many things make this improbable; and the contrary judgment of those who have minutely examined the matter is general and emphatic.[1] When preaching to the people, in large gen-

[1] Nunc ex ordine inquirendum est, Bernardus sermones suos latina, an vulgari eloqueretur. Nec levis sane difficultas. Istis enim concionibus interfuisse videntur fratres laici, illiterati, linguæ latinæ prorsus ignari, quibus in usu erat sola vulgaris lingua, quæ romana corrupte dicebatur passim apud illorum tempores auctores. . . . Si ergo Bernardi sermonibus fratres illiterati intererant, haudquaquam verisimile est, hos sermones latine pronuntiatos fuisse. . . . Sed nihilominus Bernardi sermones in latina lingua natos, latine prolatos, atque eodem prorsus modo ab ejus discipulis exceptos fuisse indubitanter existimamus. Primo enim id arguit perpetuus nativusque verborum lusus in vocibus latinis. Deinde ejusdem stili in sermonibus et in aliis ejus libris et tractatibus æqualitas. . . . In his porro exhortationibus, quas sive ad Conversos, seu ad extraneos et seculares homines faciebat Vir sanctus, vulgari idiomate procul dubio utebatur. — *Opera*, Præfatio in tom. ter., vol. prim., coll. 1595–1599.

On ne peut nier sans doute l'ancienneté d'un manuscrit que possédaient jadis les Feuillans de Paris, et qui contient des sermons français intitulés : *ci encommencent li sermons Saint Bernaut ;* mais cette inscription même, cette qualification de *Saint*, suffirait pour annoncer une traduction écrite après la mort, après la canonisation de l'illustre Abbé. Aussi dom Mabillon, dom Clémencet, et plusieurs autres savans, n'ont-ils pas craint d'affirmer que le texte original de tous les sermons de Saint Bernard aujourd'hui connus est en langue latine. — *Hist. Littéraire de la France*, tom. xiii. p. 193.

A few sentences from the translation referred to above, taken without preference, will at least show the accepted form of a dialect of the French language in the thirteenth century : —

[On the Vigil of the Nativity, Sermon iii.] "Hui sauerez ke nostre sires uenrat ; et lo matin uareiz sa glore. Oyez fil d'ommes et ki uiueiz en terre. Escouez uos ! uos qui estes en la pousiere et si loez ! car li meyes uient as malades. li rachateires as uenduz ! li uoye as exerranz ! et li uie as morz. Cil uient qui toz noz pechiez gitterat el parfont de la meir ! qui

eral assemblies, he undoubtedly spoke in the language of the people; and one of the chief losses which we suffer in connection with his career is the loss of almost everything pertaining to those famous discourses, except the record of their effects. His Latin style is of course materially affected by the influence of the Latin of the Vulgate, of the writings of the Church Fathers in the West, and of the venerated Church formularies. It is not classical. It is not graceful and elegant, like that of Erasmus, the perfection of whose style led the monks to doubt the soundness of his doctrine. Bernard belongs to a ruder and darker age; his style is more careless in form, more rugged and venturesome, yet more ecclesiastical. But it has a beauty of its own, as well as a certain powerful swing in its general movement, coming from the great personality behind it; and after one gets familiar with it he not only finds it sufficiently transparent for the immediate transmission of the thought, but feels in it the graceful, playful, or mighty touch of the commanding and charming spirit whose instrument it was. Its sentences move,

sanerat totes noz enfermeteiz. et ki a ses propres espales nos reporterat a l'encommencement de nostre propre digneteit. Granz est ciste poxance; mais molt plus fait a meruillier li misericorde. k'ensi uolt uenir; cil qui soscorre nos polt."

[From Septuagesima, Sermon ii.] "Ensi nen est mies franche en nos nostre raisons: anz nos couient de totes parz luitier a lei. car ele est ensi detenue et enchaitiueie per une maniere de glut ens terriemes choses. et ensi la rebotet om aiere si cum non-digne des espiritels biens; k'ele de cez ne puet estre rayeie senz dolor; nen a ceos estre receue nes a une hore et reirement senz grant gemissement. Ci me font force cil qui quierent mon ainrme. ensi ke mestiers m'est que iu die a halte uoix: iu chaitis hom qui me deliuerrat del cors de ceste mort?"

Älteste Französische Übersetzung der Lateinischen Predigten Bernhards von Clairvaux: nach der Feuillantiner Handschrift in Paris. — WENDELIN FOERSTER, ss. 33, 131. Erlangen, 1885.

not infrequently, like the tread of cohorts, while particular words sparkle and shine as with the gleam of helmet and ensign.

Passing to consider the substance of the sermons, with the elements of moral and spiritual power which they involve, we are impressed at once, as everywhere in the work of Bernard, with the candid earnestness, the magnificent and commanding sincerity, of the man who is speaking. If we look for vehemence and rapidity in his discussion of subjects we shall no doubt be often disappointed. Such properties marked, unquestionably, his popular addresses, as we should have inferred from his character that they would; as we know that they did, from many testimonies. But they do not belong, at least not in any special degree, to the sermons which he preached to the monks around him, who had entered already the life religious, and to whom he would bring instruction and counsel, rather than the impellent force of fervent passion. The sermons are not languid, or wanting in vigor, in their treatment of themes, or in the effort to impress these. But also, usually, they are not impetuous. They leave the impression of Scriptural study, thoughtful reflection, spiritual meditation, now and then a sort of mystical revery, all set forth in the placid, contemplative, leisurely speech of one who is equal to any crisis, but whom no present emergency confronts.

They were preached to men, of course, not to congregations of women and men; to men, for the most part in mature life, not to children, and not to those quick with youthful aspiration. So we should not expect in them, what we certainly shall not commonly find, the variety, vivacity, velocity of appeal, which perhaps we deem essential to a great modern sermon. But the constant

shadow of things eternal is over them all. The supernal destinies waiting for the preacher, and waiting as well for those who hear him — the thought of these never is absent. He is constantly intent on ministering for God, as God shall give him grace and help, to the essential immortal life of the souls before him. La Bruyère, in an essay on the pulpit, you may remember, levels a sharp sarcasm at a famous French preacher, supposed by some to have been Bourdaloue: "What a judicious and admirable sermon I have just heard!" he says; "how beautifully brought forward were the most essential points of religion, as well as the strongest motives for conversion! What a grand impression it must have produced on the minds and souls of the audience! They are convinced; they are moved; they are so deeply touched that they confess, from their very souls — that the sermon which they have just heard excels even the one which they heard before!"[1] It is as certain as the continent that that was *not* the impression left on his hearers by any sermon of Bernard. Whatever else his discourses had or lacked there was always the temper of grave and serious earnestness in them. He believed before what Joubert in our time has well said,— that "religion is not a theology, or a theosophy: it is more than anything of that sort; it is a discipline, a law, a yoke, an indissoluble engagement;"[2] and his purpose was to bring men to submit themselves wholly and gladly to that discipline; to take up that yoke, and bear it with steady step, on unbending shoulders; to fulfil the obligations of their eternal engagement with

[1] Characters, chap. xvi. p. 448. London ed.

[2] La religion n'est ni une théologie, ni une théosophie; elle est plus que tout cela; une discipline, une loi, un joug, un indissoluble engagement. — *Pensées*, xxiv.

God. Not to please, not to entertain, not to instruct, even, without primary reference to a governing practical end, is the aim of Bernard; but to make Divine thoughts more clear to men, and more profoundly impressive upon them, that they may be readier for the coming Tribunal, and for the supreme and ineffable Presence.

In this respect the same spirit appears in his sermons which appears equally in many of his letters. He wrote thus, for example, to a young lady of rank, in whom he was interested: "Silk, and purple, and ruby dyes possess their beauty, but they never confer beauty. Surely, a beauty which is put on with a garment, and laid aside with it, is a beauty of the vestment, not of its wearer. Be unwilling to emulate the evil-minded, who painfully seek a foreign charm because they have consciously lost their own. Judge it unworthy of thyself to borrow a charm from the skins of small beasts, and the labors of worms; let the charm which is thine own suffice. Oh, with what a lovely bloom does the jewel of modesty suffuse maiden cheeks! What earrings of queens can be reckoned beside it? Nor does obedience to instruction offer an ornament of less lustre. With such pearls let thy raiment be distinguished! Certainly that virginal soul is most excellently and desirably adorned which becomes almost an object of envy to angels themselves! Some there are not so much ornamented as loaded with gold, silver, precious stones, all the riches of royal wealth. These things all they lay off at death; but your beauty will not leave you. These things which they carry about are not their own. The world, whose they are, will clutch them again, when they who have worn them go forth from it; and with just the same vanities it will again seduce others as vain as these. But your ornament is

not of this sort. It will remain, as I have said, always safe, because always your own. Even in death this beauty lives. A possession of the soul, not of the body, when the soul passes away from the body, this shall not share the bodily decay." [1]

In words like these we have presented that whole conception of the relation of the body to the spirit, and of time to eternity, which underlies the sermons of Bernard, whose solemn, tender, and lofty monotone breaks up continually through the measured and musical cadence of his discourse. It was in the same spirit, though in far more impassioned and admonitory words, that he wrote, as I have already noticed, to the young kinsman who had left Clairvaux for the easier discipline, and the more self-indulgent and luxurious life, to be enjoyed at Clugni. His words to him are like the strokes of a lash, though one feels the exquisite tenderness which is in them. "But what!" he says; "Is salvation to be found in elegance of dress, and in abundance of food, rather than in frugal provisions, and in cheap garments? If soft and warm furs, if fine and costly clothes, if a long-sleeved tunic with an ample hood, if a sylvan couch, and a soft, many-threaded coverlet, — if these make one holy, why do I delay to follow thee? But such things are poultices for the weak, not the weapons of soldiers! Lo, they who wear soft raiment are in king's palaces. Wine, and the like, honey-mead and fat things, serve for the body, not for the soul. The spirit is not satisfied out of frying-pans, only the flesh. Many brethren served God in Egypt a long time without any fish. Pepper, ginger, the aromatic cumin, sage, and a thousand spices of the kind, may delight the palate, but they inflame lust.

[1] Vol. prim., epist. cxiii., ad Sophiam Virginem, 306–309.

Oil, beans, porridge, and corn-bread, with water, may be distasteful to the morally lazy, but to one earnestly striving they appear great delicacies. You fear our vigils and fasts, and our prolonged manual labors; but these things are of no consequence to one who meditates eternal flames! The remembrance of the outer darkness will make solitude seem not dreadful to you. If you consider the future account which must be given for idle words, silence will not greatly displease you. Eternal weeping, and gnashing of teeth, brought clearly home to the sight of your mind, will make a rush-mat and a bed stuffed with feathers quite alike to you. . . . Arise, then, thou soldier of Christ! Arise! Shake thyself from the dust, return to the combat from which thou hast fled; be bolder in the battle after this flight, that thou mayest be only more gloriously triumphant."[1]

It is perfectly evident that one to whose mind eternal things were so real and near as they were to Bernard, while so surpassing in awfulness or in beauty, must show an influence radiating from them in all his discourse. Here was the dominant key of his life. From this came the pathos, and the stately solemnity, in whatever he either said or wrote. It gave the mighty diapason, on which were upborne all separate aspiring or reverberating tones. The rapture and the wail were interfused in his speech, because they dwelt side by side in his thought. As he wrote to another: "Noble birth, beauty of person, elegance of form, the grace of youth, estates, palaces, vast household equipments, the badges of rank, add even the wisdom of the world — they are of the world; and the world whose they are puts value upon them. But wherefore should you? Not only will they not always abide, but not even for

[1] Opera, vol. prim., epist. i. coll. 109–110.

long. Only briefly canst thou possess them, since few are always the days of man. The world itself passes away, with all its lusts; but it sends thee from it, before it passes itself. Why should a love immeasurably delight thee, which must inevitably terminate so soon? For the things which I seek in thee, or rather for thee, are not of the body, nor for time alone; therefore they do not die with the body, nor disappear with the passing years; indeed, they delight the more when the body has been left; they endure when time has ended. They are the things which eye hath not seen, nor the ear heard, nor hath it entered man's heart to conceive."[1]

By reason of this intimate and incessant conviction on the part of Bernard, his sermons, however deliberate or discursive in their general movement, are always instinct with moral earnestness. We may not perhaps be impressed by this at first, reading them in the atmosphere of a different century, and in a tongue not wholly familiar. But more and more we come to perceive it; while to those to whom, as to himself, the mystical theology was the supreme truth, who shared his spirit, and over whom brooded, as over himself, the nearing shadows of the tremendous Hereafter, each sentence was freighted with spiritual meaning and was alive with emotional force. One cannot but feel this as he walks thoughtfully in the winding passages of his abundant and various teaching. Single sermons may sometimes disappoint; but the entire collection inevitably reminds one, as does the whole system of doctrine which they utter, of the rhythmic and solemn mediæval church: very unlike, certainly, to a Roman basilica, or a gay and graceful modern lecture-room, but with a grand majesty and harmony in the dim aisles and lofty

[1] Vol. prim., epist. cvii. coll. 289–290.

nave, in portals crowded with faces and figures of welcoming saints, in emblazoned windows gleaming with legends, in even the grotesque and uncouth figures wrought sometimes into capital or cornice, or in the hideous grace of the gargoyle. Such a structure is essentially one, from crypt to cross. It is dusky with mystery. It is exultant with aspiration. One spirit has lifted its vertical lines, and cut the curve of its swift arches, has carved its tablets, and moulded its lovely or lordly decoration. Bernard's sermons are equally one, in all the varieties of subjects which they treat, because one superlative system of Faith, devoutly held, pervades and determines them.

The speaker is in most serious earnest, and everything is subordinate to an omnipresent spiritual purpose. His errand in the world is to extend the kingdom of God; to limit, and as far as he may to destroy, the kingdom of evil. He is never an attitudinizing speaker, seeking to attract admiration to himself. I verily think that Apollyon himself would have seemed to him less detestable, certainly less despicable, than such a creature in the pulpit! He is not altogether, though he is in part, a meditative teacher. He is, above all, a minister of God, to whom it belongs, with all his knowledge, all his power, to lift toward the Holy One the weak and wavering souls of men. He wanted nothing to stand, therefore, between himself and his hearers, interfering with the full impression of the truth. On the subject of church-music he was almost a radical. So he wrote to the monks of Monstier-Ramey [Arremarensis] words which might well be inscribed to-day on the walls of every choir-gallery: "The feeling clearly expressed [in music]," he says, "should reflect the splendor of truth, should ring with the tone of the

spirit of righteousness, should persuade to humility, should teach tranquillity; imparting equally the light of truth to the minds of hearers, grace to their manners, a spiritual energy to overcome vice, devout animation to the affections. The singing should be full of gravity, giving no echo either to wantonness or to rudeness; sweet, while not trivial; charming to the ear, but only that it may move the heart. It should not enfeeble but enforce the sentiment of the words. It is no light loss of spiritual grace," he adds, "when one is detained by the quick and airy movement of the song from the benefit which belongs to the things it expresses; when one is led more closely to attend to the winding variety of mingling tones than to the realities with subtle modulation conveyed upon them."[1] No wise modern bishop, no Puritan minister, could have stated the rule in the long argument between pulpit and choir with sharper distinctness, or more careful discretion, that did this intense, meditative monk.

The earnestness of the practical purpose in Bernard led him of course to use the Scriptures very largely in his teaching, and so to add vastly to its richness and unction. It is an old saying, attributed to Themistocles, that speech is like a tapestry unrolled, whereon the imagery appears in figure; while thought unexpressed contains the same figures hidden in folds. The aim of Bernard's preaching was to exhibit clearly the figures, of crimson, violet, gold, which seemed to him embroidered on the Scripture, with those which contrasted them, of infernal blackness and fire; and he was certainly right in feeling that thus his discourse would reach its ultimate fruitful power. Of course the Scripture was used for this purpose under his theory of the mystical sense,

[1] Epist. cccxcviii., Opera, vol. prim., col. 716.

which only the devout could apprehend; and this, no doubt, often leads him into what to us appear fond conceits, perhaps sometimes preposterous fancies. But in that age, when the intellectual consciousness of men was but half awakened, when history was known but vaguely and imperfectly, and science not at all, and when the entire atmosphere of society was charged with fancies and imaginative illusions, such shadowy, enigmatic interpretations of the Scripture seemed natural enough, and the more instructive because to the common mind unfamiliar.

I take up, for example, the collection of his discourses, and open it at random at the ninety-fourth of those described as "De Diversis," or, as we should say, Miscellaneous Discourses. It differs in no important measure from others, except that it happens to be on an historical subject, which is by him characteristically treated. The story of Elijah fleeing from Jezebel is the fundamental theme. The modern preacher would undoubtedly treat this in its evident historical sense; exhibiting the circumstances, with the sequence of events, and showing how the haughty, undaunted, and passionate spirit of the splendid and defiant Tyrian queen smote the soul of the great son of Gilead as no rage of the king, and no popular fury, had had power to do. Bernard's method is in a significant contrast with this. It represents, in an instance not specially remarkable, a common tone in his preaching. He takes Elijah as representing the just man, who suffers persecution because of his righteousness. Jezebel represents the malice of the world, and the fierce tyranny of the devil. The man, rising against the temptations of sin, flees away, wherever the will of God may carry him. He comes to Beersheba, in Juda,— that is, to

the Holy Church, which is called Beersheba, or the Seven Wells, on account of the grace of the seven-fold Spirit, which in it is ministered to the faithful. Or, it may be called the Well of satisfaction, because of the depth of Divine mysteries in it, with the refreshing Scriptural instruction which issues from it in ceaseless flow. Of this instruction it is that the Psalmist says: "They shall be satisfied with the fatness of Thy house: Thou shalt make them drink of the river of Thy pleasures." The fullest drinking does not here induce the sense of satiety; it only excites anew the thirst of those whose desires remain unfilled. The flood which flows from Scripture-reading is one in which the lamb may walk, while the elephant has to swim. At the table of the Catholic doctrine feasts are provided for every one, according to the measure of his understanding. Here is the true Paradise of delights; here the garden of all manner of fruits.

Coming thus to the Church, which is the Beersheba, the man runs also to Confession, represented by Juda; and there he leaves his servant, by whom is denoted his former foolish and vain understanding, with the debilitating sense of past transgression; and thence he rushes to the desert, which is simply a just contempt of the world. There he rests; he is in repose from earthly tumult; he sings with the prophet, "This shall be my rest forever!" He throws himself down; that is, he holds himself vile, and renounces all his former desires. He sleeps, under the shade of the juniper; because in the courts of the Lord's House the bodily sense is measurably released from the command of depraved inclinations. There the angelic vision touches him, inspiring him to more useful activity, and prompting him to rise to higher attainments. He looks up to his Head, that

is, to Christ, the Head of the Church, and lo! there is the bread covered with ashes,— that is, the food of the Divine doctrine, outwardly rude in appearance, but inwardly unspeakably nourishing and sweet; and there is the constant cruse of water, which is the fountain of tears gushing forth from the compunction of the heart. He eats of that bread, and drinks of that fount,— that is, he accepts and obeys what he hears, and he goes in the courageous strength thence derived to the mountain of God; that is, to the title and possession of the Divine Blessedness.[1]

It is necessary to remember, as I have said, that this is only the abstract of a sermon reported by the monks, and not the full text of it from the hand of Bernard; but his characteristics are still evident in it. Some of the expressions must have been his, beyond question, as that famous one, "In hoc pelago agnus ambulat, et elephas natat;" and his familiar method of preaching is perhaps not unfairly before us. Each word of the Scripture had to him, you notice, a mystic meaning, the thought of God beneath the letter, which it was the joy and passion of his life to explore and exhibit. Even the proper names in the Bible had significant charm for him. In one of his earliest homilies on the Annunciation, he begins by saying: "Why did the Evangelist wish to include so particularly so many proper names in this place [Luke 1: 26, 27]? I believe it was because he was unwilling that we should carelessly hear what he was so careful diligently to narrate. He names the messenger who was sent; God, who sent him; the Virgin, to whom he came; the spouse of the Virgin; the very region and city of both. Why is this? Do you suppose that either of the names is here

[1] Vol. prim., Ser. xciv. coll. 2537–2539.

superfluously? By no means. For if not a leaf falls from the tree without reason, nor one of all the sparrows to the ground without our Father, shall I imagine a superfluous word to drop from the lips of the holy Evangelist, especially in recording the sacred history of the Word of God? I do not think it. All these names are full of supernal mysteries, each one overflowing with celestial sweetness, if they may only have an attentive observer, who knows how to suck honey out of the rock, and oil from the flinty rock."[1]

Of course to a mind attempered like his the book known to us as the Song of Solomon had incessant attraction, as offering almost unbounded opportunities for mystical exposition. He has left eighty-six sermons upon it, in which, after all, he only enters the third chapter. His spirit in the exposition is of course delicate and discerning, while exuberantly active in spiritual suggestion. "Love is everywhere the speaker," he says: "and if one desires to reach true understanding of the things which are read he must do it by love. In vain will one come to the hearing or reading of this Song of Love who does not himself feel the passion; since it is nowise possible for a frigid heart to comprehend this glowing discourse."[2] With free, wide-ranging, untiring treatment, he finds in the Song, or we may perhaps think imports into it, all hidden secrets of Christian experience. Each chapter stands before one, under his abundant and affectionate discussion, like an immense, far-spreading vine, climbing over trellis and rock, with fragrant odors, and all changeful beauty of color in leaf and blossom, laden with grapes which grow only on holy ground, and from which is pressed the

[1] Vol. prim., De Laud. V. M. Hom. i. coll. 1665–66.
[2] Vol. prim., Ser. lxxix. col. 2153.

wine of Paradise. He allegorizes always, but he is always in lofty earnest. The kiss, which the Bride at the outset desires, is to Bernard that miracle of the Incarnation in which, not mouth is pressed upon mouth, but God Himself becomes intimately united to human nature. The three spiritual ointments are contrition, devotion, and reverent piety. Hope and fear in the Christian soul show the impress of the two Divine feet, of judgment and of mercy. The breasts of the Bridegroom — one of them is the long-suffering with which the Lord awaits the sinner, the other the tenderness with which He receives him. So with all the free excursiveness of a fancy animated by profound religious feeling, the accepted spiritual contents of the book are continually set forth, with the earnest intent to make these evident and dear to his hearers.

At the same time his clear and decisive ethical sense is never obscured, and his power of terse expression is always at command. "Learning without love inflates one," he says; "Love without learning is liable to error."[1] "I hear gladly the words of a teacher who does not stir applause for himself, but self-reproach in me."[2] "The learned pastor, who is not himself a good man, it is to be feared will not benefit as many by the richness of his instruction as he will injure by the sterility of his life."[3] "Security is pleasant to all, but most of all to him who has been frightened. The light is a joyful thing for all, but especially to him who has come from under the power of darkness. To have passed from death unto life redoubles the delight of the life which is reached."[4] "As to merit, it is sufficient

[1] Ser. lxix., vol. prim., col. 3089.
[2] Ser. lix. col. 3021.
[3] Ser. lxxvi. col. 3143.
[4] Vol. prim., Ser. lxviii. col. 3086.

to know that our merits are never sufficient. Destitution of merit is surely a pernicious poverty, but presumption of the spirit is a deceitful riches."[1] "In things of a spiritual order the understanding does not comprehend, except so far as experience feels them."[2]

It is, however, the general height and expansiveness of treatment which especially commands our attention in these discourses. You will have observed, I am sure, in even the fragmentary accounts which I have given of his writings and discourses, how large a place the power of imagination had in Bernard, and what reach and riches came through it into his speech. One would hardly know where to find a brighter example of the power which is imparted to the preacher by this always noble, if sometimes misleading and dangerous faculty. It is perpetually apparent in Bernard. Whatever else he is or is not, he is never commonplace. His mind is fruitful in large suggestions; and the text is often hardly more than the nest from which, like the eagle, he lifts himself on eager wing to touch if he may the stars of light. One of these sermons on the Canticles, for example, treats of the angelical love toward God, according to the differing orders of angels; another, on the darkness and beauty of the Bride, discusses the question why it is that hearing is of more value than seeing, in matters of faith; another, on the ointments of the Beloved, exhibits the nature of four principal virtues; another presents the excellency of the vision of God, and the measure in which the sense of the Divine presence will vary in good men according to their varying aspirations; another still, impresses the truth that while knowledge of literature may be profitable for intellectual culture, the knowledge of one's own

[1] Vol. prim., Ser. lxviii. col. 3086. [2] Ser. xxii. col. 2785.

weakness is more profitable for salvation. There is hardly any theme of practical spiritual religion for which he does not find suggestion, toward which he does not take incentive, in the parts of the Song which come under his view.

So, equally, in his miscellaneous discourses, he moves to the consideration of all sorts of subjects: of the creation, according to weight, number, and measure; of the sevenfold gifts of the Spirit, opposing the seven chief human vices; of voluntary poverty; of the vice of ingratitude; of the triple guardianship of the hand, the tongue, and the heart; of the proper connection of virginity and humility; of those who suffer loss because on them the mysteries of the dying, rising, ascending Christ, are not impressed. In one sermon he treats of the properties of the teeth, in their relation to the monastic life; in one, of unhealthy or insufficient blood, as representing depravity of the will, which is the blood of the soul. But whatever his subject, however familiar, apparently trivial, there is always a light thrown upon it by his imagination, which is like the light of golden brown or royal purple which rests upon Italian hills. Cottage and villa, the rocky cliff, the squalid town, are in that light as if transfigured. So the commonest theme stands to Bernard invested with an unworldly radiance, because connected with infinite truths and immeasurable destinies. Whatever his immediate point of view, he sees the glory of God before him, in creation and redemption, and the majestic meaning and pathos in all human life. One takes the impression from his sermons, which is now and then made, but not very often, by the sermons of other great preachers of the world, that his mind was so full of interior lustre that it made little difference on what the atten-

tion rested at the moment. A mere crevice in the wall revealed a landscape. His spiritual force was so essentially electric that the touch of a text, oftentimes of a word, was enough to start responsive currents.

I have sometimes thought, even, that to a mind so sensitive as his, and a heart so abounding in spiritual feeling, the very *form* of the Scriptures, as he had received them, must have brought peculiar stimulation. The heavy, glossy, vellum leaves, the ornamented borders, the illuminated initials, the inartistic but rich illustrations, and the fact that each letter had been lovingly traced by monk or nun now risen to the heavens — certain holy thoughts may well have come to him, a celestial air may well have seemed to breathe about him, as he opened and turned the costly pages, such as may not be familiar to us who read the Scriptures as thrown out mechanically, thousands in a day, from long-primer type, by commercial presses, on common rag-paper, at a dollar a copy. The Bible to us, in its external form, is only a book, among millions of others. To him, in its size, its elaborate richness, its historic associations, its various emblazonment, its costly covers of ivory or gold, in the reverence with which it was guarded in the monasteries and was looked upon by the people, it was as a solemn and lordly temple, vast, sumptuous, perfumed with incense, along whose pavements and under whose arches walked the holy of the past, and into which streamed, through every window of prophecy or of gospel, the splendor of God.

I have spoken of some elements of power in the preaching of Bernard; of his humility concerning it; of his intense earnestness in it, and his undoubting faith in the doctrine which he taught; of the Scriptural character of his discourses, and of the mystical, imagin-

ative lights which always lay richly upon them. It is important to observe also the tender and loyal affectionateness of spirit by which his discourses are distinguished, and the free exhibition of personal experience which adds to their charm, and which gives them often a strange modernness of tone. He is never a mere philosophical lecturer, any more than a rhetorical declaimer. One always feels him to be a sympathetic brother-man, who has gone through the deeps in which others are struggling, and has climbed the hills on whose difficult steeps they still are stumbling, till he now has sight, from the delectable mountains, of the City of God; and who is ready to put all that he has gained at the service of his hearers. There is not the slightest taint of a mean egotism in his discourses, yet his references to himself are not infrequent, are often extremely tender and touching. But all is governed by a paramount purpose to reach and help others, setting them forward on their way, or guarding them against apprehended dangers; and to do this, if need be, by revealing his own spiritual feeling, the secrets and joys of his Christian life.[1]

[1] A single illustration, one of a multitude, may be permitted. It is in sentences taken from one of the sermons, the sixth, on the Song of Solomon: "It has been given to me, miserable man, sometimes to sit beside the feet of the Lord Jesus; and now this foot, now that, to embrace with entire devotion as far as His benignity deigned to permit me. And if, when forgetful of mercy, conscience exciting me, I too long clung to the foot of judgment, soon flung into incredible fear and wretched confusion, and enveloped in gloomy dread, this only with palpitating heart have I cried out of the depths: 'Who knoweth the power of Thine anger, and by reason of Thy fear who may measure Thy wrath?' But if, this foot of judgment being left, it has happened to me to cleave more closely to that of mercy, I have on the other hand been loosened into such carelessness and negligence that immediately prayer with me has become more tepid, action more sluggish, laughter readier, discourse more indiscreet, and in fact the whole condition of either man [outer or inner] has shown itself less stead-

The hearer or the reader feels, with exulting and grateful confidence, that this man will help him if he can; and that, in order to do this, he is willing to open for others' inspection his most treasured thoughts, his most reserved and sacred feeling. Whatever he has learned by intent meditation, whatever he has felt, on any level between agony and ecstasy, he freely puts at others' disposal. He is not afraid of any criticism. He holds no experience exclusively his own. He is supremely conscious of immortality; knowing that he is not to tarry here long, and seeking, with a love like that of the Master, to win the wandering, to lift the depressed, to heal the wounded, to counsel and direct the strong. So the doctrine which he taught came to men illumined, and spiritually emphasized, by their clear perception of his profound experience of it. More than by any melody of periods, or the antiphonal cadence of responsive clauses which characteristically marks his style, it was commended to those who heard it by the loving eagerness with which he put it before their minds.

One readily understands that on such a teacher, so intense yet so tender, so wide in range, so fruitful in suggestion, so familiar with the Scripture, so keenly alive to individual needs, so certain of his message and of its Divine value, his hearers must have waited with a peculiar receptiveness of spirit, ardently welcoming each sentence from his lips; that he was to them, not

fast. Therefore, instructed by the mistress Experience, not judgment alone, nor only mercy, but mercy and judgment equally, will I sing unto Thee, O Lord! Eternally will I not forget these justifications; they shall both equally be my songs in this place of my pilgrimage, until, mercy being exalted above judgment, suffering shall cease, and alone from every other my glory shall sing to Thee, and I shall not be ashamed." — Opera, vol. prim., Ser. vi. in Cant., col. 2692.

what others sometimes called him "The mellifluous Doctor," but almost as a messenger sent directly from the Lord; that they gladly yielded all things else to hear and see him; that for him they would cheerfully have given up life, if so his ministry might have been furthered. I find no preacher, in ancient or in modern time, in whom this engaging affectionateness of tone, this readiness to present the rich fruits of experience, have been more marked than in Bernard. Therefore it is, in part at least, that his words have lived, while the louder words of presumptuous egotists and shouting declaimers, of whom there were specimens in his day as in ours, have been long swallowed up in a benign silence. His whole philosophy of preaching appears summed up in a letter of advice to a young abbot: "A sterile modesty is never pleasing, nor is a humility praiseworthy which surpasses the truth of things. Therefore attend to your duty. Expel bashfulness by regard to that duty; act as a master. Prepare to account for the single talent credited to thee; be easy in mind concerning anything beyond. If you have received much, give much. If little, contribute that. For he who is not faithful in the little, is not faithful in the much. Remember, too, to give to your word the voice of a noble virtue. Do you say, What is that? It is that your works chime with your words, or rather your words with your works, so that you take care to do before you teach. . . . Indeed, a sermon, living and efficacious, is any example of good work, making easily persuasive what is said, while it demonstrates that that can be done which is recommended. Therefore, on these two commandments, of word and example, understand the whole quietness of your conscience in regard to your duty to depend. Yet, if you are wise,

you will add a third, a zeal for prayer. These three abide: the word, the example, prayer; but the greatest of these is prayer. For though, as I have said, work is the true virtue of the word, yet for both work and word prayer gains grace and efficacy." [1]

It is of course to be remembered, too, that he who preached in this high fashion to monks and the people, had a singular beauty and charm of utterance, was fair and saintly in face and person, so that to listen to him was a constant delight. His frail, attenuated, but graceful figure, "his whole body most delicate and without flesh," as the ancient biographer says,[2] at last worn almost to transparency by vigils and fastings, by sorrowful solicitudes, by constant prayer, and by his care of all the churches, — they seemed hardly to associate him with the earth, while the inspiring spirit within used with only more fervid energy the ethereal instrument which it was always ready to leave. His physical presence was thus alluring to the reverence, and quickening to the love, of those who hung with eagerness on his lips. The pallid and commanding face, full of human affection and heavenly hope, with the faint tinge of the early bloom still lingering on the cheeks, with the thin, fair hair, with the eyes which are fondly spoken of as "dove-like," yet which glowed at times as if lighted with divinest fires, the modulated voice which quivered like a harp-string or rang like a trumpet in his changing emotion, the extreme vivacity and energy of his manner in public discourse, the radiance of the spirit which seemed well-nigh to transfigure his words, — all these so impressed and affected

[1] Vol. prim., epist. cci. coll. 430–431.

[2] Corpus omne tenuissimum, et sine carnibus erat. — Opera, Vita, ii. vol. sec., col. 2417.

his hearers that a something nearly magical frequently appeared in the power of his speech. He spoke as one who had communion with Heaven. Celestial impulses were felt to vibrate on his uplifting words.

This was true even of his sermons to his associates. But of those impassioned popular addresses which live only in reports of their effect, it must have been more signally true. When he preached to the Germans, urging them to the second Crusade, though he spoke in Latin or in the Romance tongue, neither of which could they readily understand, they were carried before the rush of his eloquence as his own more excitable countrymen had been. They wept, they exulted, they bowed themselves in confession, they devoted themselves to the Crusade, before his words had been interpreted to them. An observant contemporary said of him that, "reduced almost to the tenuity of the spiritual body, he persuaded the eye before the ear heard him. The best powers of nature, he adds, had been given him of God; the highest learning, an immense energy; his pronunciation was open and clear, his physical bearing perfectly suited to every form of address."[1] The success of his eloquence in the German cities was so astonishing that beside the indisputable records of it the stories of his physical miracles seem hardly more than commonplace.

[1] In cujus gratiæ principatu, meo quidem judicio, ponitur vir nostrorum temporum valde illustris Bernardus Clarævallensis abbas. . . . Siquidem vir ille bonus longo eremi squalore et jejuniis ac pallore confectus, et in quamdam spiritualis formæ tenuitatem redactus, prius persuadet visus quam auditus. Optima ei a Deo concessa est natura, eruditio summa, industria incomparabilis, exercitium ingens, pronuntiatio aperta, gestus corporis ad omnem dicendi modum accommodatus. Non igitur mirum si potenti tantarum rerum virtute excitat dormientes, imo, ut plus dicam, mortuos. — *Epist. Wibaldi Ab. Stab.*, cxlvii.

He was as ready in reply as he was rapid in rhetorical onset. When one of the regular clergy insisted on being received as a monk at Clairvaux, that he might attain the beautiful perfection which Bernard had portrayed and had zealously recommended, and when the latter was earnestly urging him to return to the church which he wished to desert, the man, becoming furious, exclaimed, "If I had your books here, I would tear them up." "But," said Bernard, "I do not think you have read in any of my books that one cannot become perfect in his own cloister. It is correction of manners, not change of location, that I have commended." The aptness of the reply so stung the man that he struck Bernard a heavy blow on the cheek; but when the monks flew at him to avenge it the abbot bade them, in the name of Christ, not to touch him, except to lead him gently forth, and see that he was harmed by no one.[1] After closing a discourse at Toulouse against the Henricians, as he mounted his horse to depart, one of his antagonists shouted: "The pack-horse of that master of ours who seems to you so bad, is by no means so arching of neck and so fat as your prancing steed." "I do not deny, my friend, what you affirm," was the instant answer; "but you must remember that this beast, concerning which you insult me, is a brute animal, and that if he eats and grows fat righteousness is not wounded nor God offended, for the beast does only what is suitable to him. But I and your master are not to be judged at the tribunal of God by the necks of our beasts, but each one by his own. Now look at me, and see if mine is more gross than your master's, that you may fitly rebuke me!" So he flung back his hood, and the thin spiritual face, surmounting a throat as thin as it-

[1] Vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. iii. coll. 2207-08.

self, flashed forth without speaking the answer to the taunt.[1]

So uniformly intent was he on some commanding practical end that he seems never to have been whirled from his central self-poise by excitements around him, or in the utmost passion of his speech. At the great assembly at Chartres, in the interest of the second Crusade, he was vehemently urged to become its leader. Peter the Hermit had yielded to an impulse of the same sort, not more energetic. Bernard instantaneously refused, and appealed to the Pope to save him from the indiscreet pressure. "Who am I," he says, "that I should determine the array of camps, and march before the faces of armed men?"[2] He understood perfectly, as he wrote concerning an abbot who was so kindled by his eloquence as to wish to lead a company of monks to the Holy Land, that "fighting warriors were more needed there than singing and bewailing monks;"[3] and while his impetuous speech might carry everybody else beyond the bounds of prudent judgment, he remained as discreet and undisturbed as if in the cloister.

Yet all the time his strength was of the spirit, not of the body. The treasure was in the frailest of earthly vessels, that the excellency of the power might be seen to be of God. It seems really to have been only his incessant activ-

[1] Vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. vii. cap. 17, coll. 2348–49.

Bernard's personal external equipment was always of the plainest sort, and he was reverenced the more on that account. Martène writes, long after, of his chasuble: "Le chasuble de Saint Bernard qu'on montre [at Cambron] n'en inspire pas moins. Elle n'est ni de drap d'or, ni d'argent, ni de soye, mais de simple coton. Elle sert le jour de sa fête, et à toutes les premières messes des religieux." — *Sec. Voy. Litt.*, p. 108. Paris ed., 1724.

[2] Vol. prim., epist. cclvi. col. 540.

[3] Epist. ccclix. col. 656.

ity which kept him alive. The vehement zeal with which he flung himself into all endeavors for what to him was right and true gave whatever of vigor it had to the exhausted and failing body. It was true, as his biographer said, that "as often as any great necessity called him forth, through the energy of his mind conquering all things, strength was not wanting to his body; and, while all who saw him wondered, he surpassed robust men in his endurance."[1] But the moment the crisis, whatever it was, was safely passed, it seemed as if he would die the next hour. Yet this very sense of being always near to death gave a transcendent earnestness to his words; while the impression of it on those who heard him made his speech seem almost like that of one already disembodied; certainly of one standing in the horizon of time, fully midway between earth and heaven. Passages like sunbursts from a vivid, serene, unworldly soul, already holding commerce with the skies, broke into his discourse, and gave it at times surpassing effulgence for those who heard, for those who read.

He spoke, too, largely, it must be remembered, to those whose hearts were alive toward him with a keen personal affection. No love-letters are more ardent than are some of those written to him, or about him, by eminent churchmen of his time; as when Peter the Venerable wrote: "How much of reverence, how much of love toward thee, my soul holds in its inmost depths, He knows whom in thee I reverence and embrace."[2] Or, again: "If it were permitted, if the Divine arrangement did not oppose it, if the direction of one's life were in his own power, I would have preferred, my best beloved, to be attached to your felicity by an indissoluble

[1] Vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. v. col. 2252.

[2] Opera Pet. Ven., lib. ii. epist. xxix.

bond, rather than to be a prince anywhere among mortals, or to rule with kingly authority. Why should I not? Ought not a dwelling with you to be preferred by me to all earthly crowns, when it is dear not to men only, but to angels themselves?"[1] And that the love of Bernard for others was not less ardent than theirs for him is evident enough from many of his letters, — from one to Suger, for example, the noble prime-minister of France, who had been converted to new obedience to Christ through Bernard, and who died a little before him. To him, just before his death, the abbot wrote: "My best beloved, I most eagerly desire to see thee, that on me may come the benediction of the dying. Perhaps I may come; perhaps not. However this may be, I have loved thee from the beginning, I shall love thee without end. I may confidently say that I shall never, in the end, lose one so beloved. For me, he does not die, he only goes before, to whose soul mine adheres in a tie never to be relaxed, in a bond not to be broken. Only remember me, when thou shalt have come thither, going before me; and may it be given to me to follow thee quickly, and to come again to thee. In the mean time remember that never will the sweet remembrance of thee depart from me, though thy presence be withdrawn from grieving hearts."[2]

When Malachy, primate of Ireland, and legate of the Pope, came to Clairvaux a second time to see Bernard, and as it proved to die there, he said, among his last words: "I know in whom I have believed, and I am certain; I shall surely not be robbed of the rest of my desire, since already I have had such a part of it. He who has led me in His mercy to the place which I have

[1] Opera Pet. Ven., lib. vi. epist. xxix.

[2] Opera S. Bern., vol. prim., epist. cclxvi. col. 549.

longingly sought will not deny me the last end which I have equally desired. As to the poor body, here shall be its rest. As to the soul, the Lord will provide, who saveth them that hope in Him."[1] All the affectionate and fascinating charm which Bernard thus had for those who came into contact with him was exerted, to the utmost, through his speech; and what it is now the fashion to call "personal magnetism" was probably as signally apparent in him as in any preacher who has taught among men. Joubert has said, truly, that in great authors there is always an invisible essence, a nameless something, a subtile principle, which exhilarates more than all the rest.[2] In Bernard, this was the temper of utter courage, springing from an absolute and unwavering faith, and touched as with celestial fire by a tender and inexhaustible love. While the world continues, that element in human discourse will never cease to fascinate and command.

It is of course to be remembered, too, that certainly after his middle life he had immense power in popular address by reason of the character recognized in him, and of his vast fame and influence in Europe. He spoke from a throne which his own magnificent action had builded. Men knew his utter and invincible daring, in the cause of the poor against their oppressors; in the cause of endangered purity and truth, against all forms of powerful evil. They saw how simple and abstracted he was in the midst of his most brilliant successes; how modest and gentle at the height of his renown. The soul which addressed them was the same which had

[1] Opera S. Bern., vol. prim., Vita, S. Malachiæ, cap. 31, col. 1520.

[2] Il y a, dans la lecture des grand écrivains, un suc invisible et caché; c'est je ne sais quel fluide inassignable, un sel, un principe subtil plus nourricier que tout le reste — *Pensées*, 373.

flashed into terrible speech before royal wrong-doing, which had stricken as with sabre-cuts the pontifical pride, which had made its words, in great emergencies, the pivots of history. He had accomplished what nobody else could have hopefully attempted; had subdued schism, stayed the march of devastating armies, reconciled enemies, conquered the most fierce and intractable spirits. Roger of Sicily, Peter of Pisa, the Antipope Victor Third, had had to give way before his irresistible appeals. Men came to confide in him as they did in the sunshine; to be as sure of his integrity and impassioned piety as of the blue of the heavens; to expect his success, as when the lightning leaps from the cloud upon minaret or cliff. Enthusiasm for him became a general passion. Vast processions streamed out from all towns to do him honor.

At Milan, you remember, they flocked to meet him at a distance of miles from the city walls; noble and mean, the prosperous and the poor, horsemen and footmen, receiving him with a passionate reverence, delighting to look upon him, counting themselves especially fortunate if from afar they might hear his voice.[1] The ornaments of gold and silver were taken from the churches and shut up in chests, as being understood to be displeasing to him. Men and women clothed themselves in mean garments, because he disapproved richness of dress.[2] Crowds

[1] Vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. ii. cap. 2, 9, col. 2151.

[2] See Landulph, quoted by Neander, "Der heilige Bernhard," s. 108, note: "Ad nutum quidem hujus abbatis omnia ornamenta ecclesiastica, quæ auro et argento palliisque in ecclesia ipsius civitatis videbantur, quasi ab ipso abbate despecta in scrineis reclusa sunt," *et seq.*

The contemporaneous account of his preference for a dainty simplicity in dress is delightfully characteristic: "In vestibus ei paupertas semper placuit, sordes nunquam. Nimirum animi fore indices aiebat, aut negligentis, aut inaniter apud se gloriantis, aut gloriolam affectantis humanam." *Opera*, vol. sec., Vita, ii. cap. xiv. 41, col. 2434.

thronged around him to kiss his feet. They sought bits of his garments to be treasured as relics. The whole population was vehemently bent on making him their illustrious archbishop, from which he only escaped by a dexterous stratagem and the speed of his horse. His journey homeward to the convent which he loved, and which he wholly refused to leave for any place of dignity and splendor, was like a royal progress, but attended with a popular devotion which no monarch of the time could have commanded. Other cities welcomed him as Milan had done. The rustic shepherds of the Alps, as he slowly traversed the rocky slopes, forsook their flocks and hurried in crowds to seek his blessing.[1] All Europe was astir with the fame of this man, — a fame only exalted and extended by his obstinate humility, his unconquerable aversion to the prizes and delights for which others were striving. He was the counsellor of kings, and the conscience of pontiffs, while the companion of the humblest of monks, because himself serving only the Lord. His very character seemed an evangel. The age appeared, as it really was, safer and brighter in his presence.

His audiences, too, were impulsive and excitable, composed largely of those who were children in emotion with the vigor of men, who were not ashamed to give reins to their feeling, and who had not been surfeited with eloquent speech. They attributed to him, as I have said, the power of prophecy. They thought that miracles

[1] Jam Alpes transcenderat, et descendebant in occursum ejus de summis rupibus pastores, et armentarii, et agreste hominum genus, et conclamabant a longe benedictionem petentes; et reptabant per fauces montium, regredientes ad caulas suas, colloquentes ad invicem et gaudentes, quod Sanctum Domini vidissent, et manu ejus super se extensa optatæ benedictionis gratiam accepissent. — *Opera*, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. ii. cap. 5, col. 2164.

fell freely from the touch of his fingers. His voice was as of one resplendent in holiness, and bringing good tidings. We need not then wonder that his discourse, whether or not they wholly understood it, produced upon them unparalleled effects. Nothing on earth seemed able to withstand him. He preached once in Paris, in the schools of philosophy, where men were too busy with engrossing disputations to give any practical heed to his words, and the discourse apparently produced no effect. He went home to pray, with sobs and groans, deep searchings of heart, and a passion of tears. He was in anguish of spirit, lest God had forsaken him. The next day he preached again, with the unction and energy derived from this Divine communion, and large numbers were converted, and gave themselves to God at the hand of His servant.[1] He preached in Germany, calling men to repentance as the condition of their joining the Crusade, and multitudes who had lived in all manner of vice were transformed as by miracle. He preached at Toulouse, to those whom a just indignation at the carelessness and viciousness of the clergy had severed from the Church, and when he exhorted those who would return to it with obedience and penance to hold up their hands, the air was filled with quivering palms. He preached the Crusade at Vézelai, where nobles and prelates, the king and his queen, the haughty and beautiful Eleanor, were in attendance, and no one took any account of them. All eyes and thoughts were on Bernard; and as the winged words flew from his lips the passion of the assembly became uncontrollable. The cry of "Crosses! Crosses!" swelled to a roar. The vast numbers provided were insufficient for the need. Clothes

[1] Finito vero sermone, plurimi ex eisdem clericis per manum illius sese Domino reddiderunt. — *Opera*, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. vii. cap. 13, col. 2343.

had to be torn up to supply them. And when he appeared on the same errand at Basle, Constance, Freyburg, Cologne, Frankfort, Mayence, it was the same scene constantly repeated, — unnoticed nobles, forgotten prelates, an intense and irresistible speaker, thronging crowds awed, melted, and passionately inspired. The greater part of the able-bodied men along his track took the cross as the banner of the Crusade.[1] In one of the cities his life was almost lost in the crush of the crowd.[2]

Perhaps as striking an instance as any of his power in preaching is that presented by his memorable discourse before Conrad the Emperor. At Frankfort Bernard had had audience with the Emperor, but had failed to impress him with the duty or the privilege of taking part in the Crusade. Subsequently, at Spires he saw him again, but again without effect. The only answer to be obtained from him was that he would consider the matter, consult his advisers, and give his reply on the following day. On that day Bernard officiated at Mass, the Emperor being present. Suddenly, without invitation, moved as he felt by the Divine Spirit, he began to preach. At the end of the discourse, turning to Conrad in the crowded cathedral, and feeling himself as much alone with him as if the earth had swung out of sight and only they two remained to remember it, he addressed him not as an Emperor but as a man.

[1] Siquidem annuntiavi et locutus sum, multiplicati sunt super numerum. Vacuantur urbes et castella, et pene jam non inveniunt quem apprehendant septem mulieres virum unum, adeo ubique viduæ vivis remanent viris. — *Opera*, vol. prim., epist. ccxlvii. coll. 520–521.

[2] De tota siquidem regione quotquot patiebantur, afferebant ad eum, et tantus erat concursus, ut prædictus rex cum aliquando populum comprimentem coercere non posset, deposita chlamyde Virum sanctum in proprias ulnas suscipiens, de basilica exportarit. — *Opera*, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. iv. cap. 5, col. 2234.

His whole soul flung itself forth from his impassioned and impetuous lips, and he was for the time as one inspired. He pictured the coming tribunal of the Judgment, with the man then before him, standing there in presence of the Christ, who imperiously says to him, "O man! What ought I to have done for thee, which I have not done?" He set forth the height and splendor of royalty, the riches of the Emperor, the wise counsels he could command, his virile strength of mind and body, for all which things he must give account. The whole scene of the tremendous coming assize seemed palpably present to the mind of the preacher, while it flamed as a vision through his prophetic admonitory words. We may well conceive that the cathedral itself appeared to darken in the shadows, and to tremble with the echoes of ethereal thunders, as He who cometh with clouds was foreshown. At last the Emperor, bursting into tears in the midst of the discourse, exclaimed: "I acknowledge the gifts of the Divine favor; nor will I prove ungrateful for them. He assisting me, I am ready to serve Him, seeing that on His part I am so admonished!" The shout of the people, snatching as it were the word from his lips, broke forth in exulting praise to God, and the city resounded with their voices. The Emperor took the holy banner from the hand of the abbot; his nephew, with a multitude of nobles, followed eagerly his example; and the second Crusade was launched upon its turbulent way.[1]

Only one more instance remains to be noticed of that masterful and heroic energy in Bernard which gave strange power to his words, and which in this case did not need even words to represent it. He was lying upon his sick bed at Clairvaux, in the last year of his

[1] Opera, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. vi. cap. 4, coll. 2289-90.

life on earth, when news came of a terrible contest raging at Metz, between the burghers of the town and the neighboring nobles. The archbishop of Trèves could do nothing to check it, and, like others of the time, in such perilous emergency turned to Bernard. Once more, and now for the last time the sovereign and invincible will lifted into a temporary vigor the wasted and dissolving frame, and the abbot went forth, in uttermost feebleness, to the banks of the Moselle. The exasperated nobles would not even hear him, but broke up their camp, and went elsewhere, to avoid the spell which they feared his speech might cast upon them. But they could not avoid, and could not resist, the impression which even his presence made. August and saintly, he was to them not so much an earthly counsellor as a messenger from on high; and he waited, in absolute confidence, for the end. One of his visions came at night to encourage him, and he said to his companions, "Be not dismayed; there are many difficulties, but the desired peace is near." In fact at midnight came a message of penitence and reconciliation from the fierce and furious men of war. Their own souls had been too much for them. Terms of truce were proposed and accepted, and after a few days a firm and lasting peace was established.[1] The mere silence of Bernard, if only he were present, was more effective than others' discourse. Before he spoke, men listened to him; and the swing of his extraordinary power carried captive the minds of those whom his lips had not addressed.

I am reluctant to close this very imperfect sketch of Bernard in his relation to the ministry of the truth without some mention of his Hymns; not because they are of supreme value, but because they delightfully

[1] Opera, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. v. cap. 1, § 4, coll. 2251–53.

illustrate his spirit, and because in translations they are some of them still familiar and dear. His life was too busy, practical, and public, to allow him liberty to crystallize in forms of perfect verse his devotional thought. His career was his poem; which he wrought out in stanzas of great labors, great successes, modulated by a determining spiritual purpose; and as a writer of particular hymns he hardly ranks with the great masters of Latin song,— with Prudentius or Fortunatus, with James de Benedictis, with Thomas of Celano, if he was the author of the "Dies Iræ," with Adam of St. Victoire, or with Bernard of Clugni. The "Laus Patriæ Cœlestis," as it was named by Archbishop Trench, written by Bernard of Clugni [or Morlaix], and known to us in part as "Jerusalem the Golden," has no doubt a certain noble charm which does not equally belong to anything written by his greater contemporary, Bernard of Clairvaux.[1] But some hymns of the latter have also remained possessions of the Church, and in various forms, as languages change, will continue to be sung, we may be sure, until the Lord comes. One of these, to Christ hanging on the cross, seems to me to have a singularly stately and pathetic music in its Latin lines, a few of which you will suffer me to

[1] It will be remembered, of course, that this is but a small part of the poem, of about three thousand lines, "De Contemptu Mundi." The poem is largely occupied with a terrific description of the corruption and vice of the time, and of the coming advent of the Lord for Judgment. The Latin measure, dactylic hexameter, and also the theme, are well represented by the opening lines: —

"Hora novissima, tempora pessima sunt, vigilemus!
Ecce minaciter imminet arbiter ille supremus;
Imminet, imminet, ut mala terminet, æqua coronet,
Recta remuneret, anxia liberet, æthera donet."

It was probably written between the years A. D. 1140 and 1145.

read. They form the last stanza of the hymn, in which the thought is fixed on the face of Christ: —

"Dum me mori est necesse,
Noli mihi tunc deësse;
In tremenda mortis hora
Veni, Jesu, absque mora,
Tuere me, et libera.
Cum me jubes emigrare,
Jesu chare, tunc appare;
O amator amplectende,
Temetipsum tunc ostende,
In cruce salutifera." [1]

Translations of this hymn, made by Gerhardt in German, by Mrs. Charles and by Dr. James Alexander in English, are in modern hymn-books. The one most commonly used begins, —

"O sacred Head, now wounded,
With grief and shame weighed down;"

and as often as we sing this, as we often do at the sacrament of the Supper, we continue indebted to Bernard. I will read another translation than the common one of the last verse, because it excellently repeats both thought and measure, and because I cannot but think that the lines enclose, as in transparent amber, a filial reminiscence of the death of his mother: —

"When my dying hour must be,
Be not absent Thou from me;
In that dreadful hour, I pray,
Jesus, come without delay,
See, and set me free!
When Thou biddest me depart,
Whom I cleave to with my heart,

[1] The whole "Rhythmica Oratio ad unum quodlibet membrorum Christi patientis," in seven parts, containing nearly 370 lines, is found in the Opera Bern., vol. sec., col. 1777–1782.

Lover of my soul be near;
With Thy saving cross appear,
Show Thyself to me!" [1]

Another of his hymns is the "Jesu, dulcis memoria," [2] also in part familiar to us through a delightful translation of some lines of it: —

"Jesus, the very thought of Thee
With sweetness fills my breast,
But sweeter far Thy face to see,
And in Thy presence rest!"

Another, still known by us, is really a part of the same hymn,[3] only translated in a different measure: —

"O Jesus! King most wonderful,
Thou Conqueror renowned!
Thou sweetness most ineffable,
In whom all joys are found!

[1] Another translation of the same stanza, by J. Addington Symonds, may be compared with this of Mrs. Charles: —

"When the word goes forth for dying,
Listen to my lonely crying;
In death's dreadful hour delay not;
Jesu, come, be swift and stay not;
Protect me, save, and set me free!
When by Thee my soul is bidden,
Let not then Thy face be hidden!
Lover, whom 't is life to cherish,
Shine, and leave me not to perish!
Bend from Thy cross, and succor me!"

[2] This "Jubilus Rhythmicus, de Nomine Jesu," containing nearly two hundred lines, is fully given in the "Opera Bernardi," vol. sec., coll. 1775–78.

[3] "Jesu, rex admirabilis,
Et triumphator nobilis,
Dulcedo ineffabilis,
Totius desiderabilis.
Mane nobiscum Domine,
Et nos illustra lumine,
Pulsa mentis caligine,
Mundum replens dulcedine!"

When once Thou enterest the heart,
Then truth begins to shine:
Then earthly vanities depart,
Then kindles Love Divine!"

I do not overestimate, as I have said, these or other hymns of Bernard; but they show his profoundly evangelical spirit, how the meek and sovereign majesty of the Lord continually attuned and governed his thoughts, and how the same hand which wrote letters, treatises, notes of sermons, exhortations to pontiffs, reproofs of kings, could turn itself at pleasure to the praises of Him in whose grace was his hope, in whose love was his life. If these hymns had not remained after he was gone, we should have missed, I think, a lovely lustre on his work and his fame.

Taking him for all in all, he stands before us, I am sure, by no means the supreme philosopher of his time, or its most untiring acquisitive scholar, but as noble an example as that time offers, or any time, of the power which intensity of spiritual force imparts to speech; of the power of that speech, as thus vitalized and glorified, to control and exalt the souls of men. I think of him in his physical frailty and his tender humility, refusing office and spurning all enticements of station, yet confronting kings, cardinals, and popes, ruling and inspiring vast assemblies, raising armies, subduing rebellious minds and wills, sweeping in fact the nations before him with his impetuous and passionate discourse, over which brooded eternal shadows, through which streamed celestial lights, and which shot to its purpose from a soul full charged with heroic energy, — and I see, and I say, that the noblest opportunity God gives to men is that of testifying, with lips which He himself has touched, to the glory of His character, to the majestic

grace of His plans, to the work which men of a consecrated spirit may do for Him in the world! The energy which lies in the spoken word, having behind it splendor of character and a Divine impulse, is like the energy from which the Light sprang! It opens before dim human eyes the spheres supernal, which no telescope reaches. It sheds fresh glory on the earth, from His divine story who died amid the mystery of darkness, but whom the tomb could not hold, and who ascended in triumph to His home, still blessing as He went! It brings a new celestial temper to the welcoming spirit. It becomes a beneficent force in history; and no other errand on earth surpasses his who through the supreme message of God, uttered from the lips and reinforced by the life, is able to send the human spirit, trembling but triumphing, conscious of sin, but exulting in faith, to enter, with a song that never shall cease, the Gates of Light!

LECTURE VII.

BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX: IN HIS CONTROVERSY WITH ABÉLARD.

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No other part of the career of Bernard has elicited such severity of criticism as has that which concerns his relations with Abélard. It is not unnatural that this should have been so; and the fact is, I am sure, distinctly honorable to human nature. For Abélard was one of the most brilliant and accomplished of the men of his time, untrammelled in thought, affluent in speech, marked by rare mental vivacity and vigor. He represented an element and a tendency with which Protestant students keenly sympathize; the element of individuality in thinking; the tendency to examine independently, for one's self, whatever doctrines or proofs of doctrine are proposed for acceptance. His power of personal fascination was only surpassed, if it was surpassed, by that of his renowned antagonist; while the terribly sad and tragic elements which overshadowed and fractured his career have made an appeal of constant power to the sympathies of men. The letters which passed between him and Héloïse have been said by so learned and cautious an historian as Mr. Hallam, to constitute the first book of any permanent literary interest, the first which gives distinct pleasure in the reading, produced in Europe in the six hundred years

after Boëthius' "Consolation of Philosophy;"[1] and the stately tomb in Père-Lachaise, beneath which at last repose together the ashes of those between whom passed those memorable letters, is one of the first to be sought by travellers from all parts of the world.

It is natural, therefore, and wholly reasonable, that Bernard should be judged with judicial strictness in his relation to this man of versatile genius, of large acquisitions and a wide-reaching influence, and of a sad fate. It would not be unnatural if he should now and then have been judged with undue haste, and intemperate severity; if the sentence passed on him should have been sometimes too sweeping for the truth. It has been alleged that the intolerable temper of the later Inquisition appeared in his bearing toward his brilliant antagonist. It has been intimated, even, that personal rivalry, an unwillingness to have his own fame eclipsed, added sinister incitements to his zeal. Even those who in general justly revere the Abbot of Clairvaux are not unaccustomed to speak of this passage in his life with bated breath, as being probably more open to question than any other in regard to its practical spirit and tone; as the proper subject rather of apology than of eulogy, where mitigation of judgment may no doubt be suggested, but where is hardly room for sufficient defence.[2]

[1] Introd. to Lit. of Europe, vol. i. p. 33, note. London ed., 1847.

Remusat says justly of the same letters: "Les lettres d'Abélard et d'Héloïse sont un monument unique dans la littérature. Elles ont suffi pour immortaliser leurs noms." — *Vie d'Abélard*, tom. i. p. 161.

[2] The early disciples of Abélard not unnaturally raged against Bernard with fierce sarcasm and invective. Peter Berengarius wrote, in a celebrated paper, addressing Bernard: "Jamdudum sanctitudinis tuæ odorem ales per orbem fama dispersit. Sperabamus in linguæ tuæ arbitrio cœli sitam clementiam, aeris temperiem, ubertatem terræ, fructuum benedictionem.

I am not here to eulogize Bernard, or to defend him; but to see for myself, and if I may to help you to see, the characteristic facts in his life, the spirit which they exhibit, and the service which he rendered to his age and to mankind. Neither here nor at any other point in our review have I had any thesis to maintain, any partiality to indulge, or any prejudice to gratify. All that I wish is that we may have the facts so set before us, without concealment and without color, that we may found upon them an intelligent judgment of mo ements and of men whose direct influence long ago ceased to be felt. I want, for myself, to know Bernard, to the centre of his life, and to aid you in like manner to know him; and in order to do this it is necessary to see whether he bore himself with a sincere and unfaltering manhood in what was to him a critical time.

To have the facts plainly in sight it is necessary, of course, to gain a distinct and just impression of what

Caput tuum nubes tangebat. . . . Nunc, proh dolor! patuit quod latebat, et colubri soporati tandem aculeos suscitasti. Omissis omnibus, Petrum Abælardum quasi signum ad sagittam posuisti, in quem acerbitatis tuæ virus evomeres, quem de terra viventium tolleres, quem inter mortuos collocares," *et seq.* — *Ber. Apol.*, Opera Abæl., tom. ii. p. 772.

Rémusat says of Bernard: "À voir tant d'efforts empreints de tant de haine, de ressentiment et d'orgueil, on se dit qu'il est heureux pour saint Bernard d'avoir été un Saint. . . . Saint Bernard consacrait à Dieu ses passions, comme autrefois les templiers leur épée." — *Vie d'Abélard*, tom. i. 228.

Even Milman speaks of Bernard, "in the heat and and pride of his triumph" [at Sens], as provoking his mute adversary with taunts, and proceeding "in no measured language to pursue his victory." — *Latin Christ.*, vol. iv. p. 215.

Neander, always discerning and catholic, sees the secret of Bernard's early and late antagonism to Abélard in the essentially opposite tendency of his mind aud spirit: "Aber er stand in seiner Geistesrichtung dem Abälard zu fern, um auf ihn einwirken, sich mit ihm verständigen zu können." — *Der heil. Bern.*, s. 251.

Abélard was in mind and character, of the work attempted by him, and of the movement of theological or philosophical forces to which he gave direction and momentum. This is the more needful because, while his name is often recalled, his personality is not always understood, and his attitude toward the thought of his age is not carefully distinguished. It is perfectly true, as his latest biographer, Charles de Rémusat, has said in introducing his fascinating volumes, that "Abélard is a man rather celebrated than known, whose fame appears romantic more than historical, and whose name has remained in the popular mind chiefly through the remembrance of his amours."[1] Let us try, then, better to understand him, to estimate correctly his powers and labors, and to see how Bernard came to stand toward him in that sharp antagonism before which the brilliant and versatile disputant was, at the end, hopelessly beaten.

Pierre, the eldest child of Berengarius, a nobleman of Brittany, and of Lucia his wife, was born in his father's castle, the site of which is still marked by some remaining ancient foundations and by a stone cross, on a hill overlooking the village of Palais, not far from Nantes, in the year A. D. 1079, or twelve years before Bernard was born at Fontaines. The surname Abélard, by which he has been known in history, is said by some to have been given to him in a scurvy jest, by a hostile teacher in Paris; but it is more commonly understood to have become his popular name through a

[1] Abélard est moins connu qu'il n'est célèbre, et sa renommée semble romanesque plutôt qu'historique. On sait vaguement qu'il fut un professeur, un philosophe, un théologien; . . . et le vulgaire même raconte la fatale histoire de ses amours. C'est par ce souvenir que le nom d'Abélard est resté populaire. —*Abélard, par Charles de Rémusat*, tom. i. p. 1. Paris ed., 1845.

general application to him of the French word for Bee, "Abeille," on account of his industry, and the sweetness of his discourse.[1] Bernard found poison, rather than honey, in parts of his discourse, but he refers to him in one of his letters, as a buzzing or a hissing bee.[2]

His father was a man of good repute as well as of rank, a skilful and successful soldier, yet with a sense of the value of knowledge, with the pre-eminence of mental accomplishments, which can hardly have been general among men of his class. He destined his son, almost as a matter of course, to the career of a soldier, but wished him first to receive larger instruction than was then customary, in the letters and the science of the age. The bright, eager, aspiring boy entered with ardor upon the course thus opened before him, and became soon so enamoured of his studies as to be unwilling to give them up for the discipline and practice of arms. He cheerfully relinquished to his younger brothers his right of primogeniture, abandoning his feudal inheritance, and going forth into the world, as some one has said, "a knight-errant of Philosophy;" roaming freely

[1] Rémusat doubts this, however. "D'Argentré voit un nom de famille dans le nom de Pierre Esveillard, qu'ils appellent en France Abéilard. Les textes latins écrits en Bretagne portent Abælardus. C'était plutôt un surnom. . . . Dans ses propres ouvrages, il se nomme lui-même : 'Hoc vocabulum Abælardus mihi . . . collocatum est.' Othon de Frisingen écrit Abailardus, et l'on trouve aussi Abaielardus, et même Abaulardus, Abbajalarius, Baalaurdus. En français, Abeillard, Abayelard, Abalard, Abaulard, et al. Les formes les plus usitées sont Abailard ou Abélard. La dernière est celle que préfèrent Bayle et M. Cousin." — *Vie d'Abélard*, tom. i. p. 14, note.

[2] Pro melle, vel potius in melle venenum passim omnibus propinatur. . . . Siquidem sibilavit apis quæ erat in Francia, api de Italia ; et venerunt in unum adversus Dominum. — *Opera*, vol. prim., epist. clxxxix. col. 412.

from school to school, and from province to province, wherever he saw chance to add to his knowledge, or to exercise his active and emulous powers. It was a real enthusiasm with him; and he gladly resigned camp and tournament for what were to him the more exciting and more rewarding scholastic contests.

Michelet has truly said of Brittany that its people are always at heart republican, in the social if not the political sense;[1] and he also says, probably less correctly, that Pelagius was a Breton, who "infused the stoical spirit into Christianity, and was the first in the Church to lift his voice on behalf of human liberty."[2] Pelagius was more probably a Welshman, though his name "the Sea-born" would have been as appropriate to a native of Brittany. But Michelet is certainly right in claiming for the same province, hard and rough, but prolific in genius and in mental independence, René Descartes, born at the end of the sixteenth century, who sought to reconstruct human knowledge; who gave the impulse to that immense intellectual movement afterward represented in different directions by Spinoza, Leibnitz, by Kant, and by Hegel; whose fame was a glory of the seventeenth age; and of whom it was said at his death that everybody in northern Europe who thought at all thought according to the method of Descartes. Midway between Pelagius and Descartes, in the twelfth century, stands Abélard; and points of resemblance are certainly not wanting between him and

[1] Un mot profond vient d'être dit sur la Vendée, et il s'applique aussi à la Bretagne : *Ces populations sont au fond républicaines ;* républicanisme social, non politique. — *Hist. de France*, tom. ii. p. 20. Paris ed., 1855.

[2] Le breton Pélage, qui mit l'esprit stoicien dans le christianisme, et réclama le premier dans l'Église en faveur de la liberté humaine. — *Hist. de France*, tom. ii. p. 9.

those with whom the eloquent French historian has been moved to associate his name. The self-asserting and vehement spirit was present in either, the mental intrepidity, the readiness for debate, the strong tendency toward something new in the realms of speculation, the daring reliance on personal conviction as against any alleged authority in the school or the Church. Abélard had not perhaps all the power of the others, and has not left so large a trace on human thought; but he was of their temper, and his genius had at least an equal enterprise and a similar sparkle.

In his glad and free youth, handsome, confident, rapid in thought and brilliant in speech, accomplished and engaging in manners and address, a poet and singer as well as an ardent student of philosophy,— one of the first to put the vernacular French of the century to the service of poetic thought in melodious forms,— he attracted attention and inspired admiration wherever he went, and felt himself, as others felt for him, that he was entering on a splendid career. It is a fact full of significance that the immense excitements in France, and in his own province, attendant on the preaching of Peter the Hermit and the following Crusade, left apparently no traces upon him, though during that extraordinary crisis in the moral and martial life of Europe he was already in the glow of courageous and sensitive youth. The only explanation must be found in his intense absorption in study. His excitable imagination would surely have been kindled by the great aims proposed, and by the all-involving enthusiasm, if it had not been supremely pre-occupied by the charms of philosophy, which was to him a dearer Jerusalem, and by the contests of the schools, which appeared to him more

significant and momentous than the movement of armies over the Continent.[1]

In the course of his wandering, while still in earliest youth, he seems to have been attracted by Jean Roscellinus, also like himself a native of Brittany, and for a time canon at Compiègne, who was then teaching at Tours or near Vannes in his native province, and who was at that time the most forcible and prominent champion in Europe of what has since been known as Nominalism in the history of philosophy.[2] Of this doctrine I shall speak briefly hereafter. Roscellinus carried it so far as to excite the opposition of Anselm and others, and to come into apparent collision with the Church doctrine of the Trinity, to which he seemed to give a tri-theistic exposition. His doctrine was condemned by a council at Soissons, in A. D. 1092, and he was constrained formally to renounce it, though he afterward appeared again as its advocate. The youth of Abélard must have been precocious to permit his taking any strong impression at that time from any teacher, on questions so speculative. But he very likely felt the grasp of a mind more largely trained than his own, and accepted from the master something of his spirit,

[1] Ego vero quanto amplius et facilius in studio litterarum profeci, tanto ardentius in eis inhaesi, et in tanto earum amore illectus sum, ut militaris gloriæ pompam cum hæreditate et prærogativa primogenitorum meorum fratribus derelinquens, Martis curiæ penitus abdicarem ut Minervæ gremio educarer. . . . Proinde diversas disputando perambulans provincias, ubicunque hujus artis vigere studium audieram, peripateticorum æmulator factus sum. — *Opera*, epist. i., Hist. Calam., tom. i. p. 4.

[2] Il enseignait de plus que les idées générales n'étaient que des mots: "L'homme vertueux est une réalité, la vertu n'est qu'un son." Cette réforme hardie ébranlait toute poésie, toute religion: elle habituait à ne voir que des personnifications dans les idées qu'on avait réaliseés. — MICHELET: *Hist. de France*, tom. ii. p. 279.

if not much of his thought. It is not improbable that he studied with him again at a later time.[1]

At the age of twenty, or thereabout, he went to Paris, the centre then, as for centuries afterward, of letters and arts for northern Europe. It was small in extent, as compared with that magnificent city of thirty square miles which now for generations has dazzled and bewitched the world. As tried by the same standard, it was humble in appearance, poor, even squalid. Unpaved, and by night unlighted, the old name Lutetia, or Mud-town, was still not inappropriate to it. The island in the Seine, La Cité, which is still the heart of Paris, was then the special seat of royal residence, of the Church, of public Justice, and of Instruction. The palace was there, the Royal Gardens, the metropolitan church which preceded the magnificent Notre-Dame of a century later that remains to our time, fifteen other churches, the vestiges of which are now lost, but which then stood around this, as Rémusat says, "like guards of honor around their queen;"[2] and in the shadows of these churches and their cloisters, along the earthen or grassy ways, passed and repassed the throngs of students gathered from all parts of Europe by the fame of

[1] It has been doubted, apparently with good reason, whether Abélard could have been a pupil of Roscellinus. He says nothing of it in the "Historia Calamitatum," and his extreme youth at the time when Roscellinus was compelled to cease teaching has seemed to contradict it. But Othon de Freisingen, a contemporary and teacher of Abélard, asserts it (De Gest. Frid., i. 42); and Abélard himself, in the "Dialectica," pars quinta, speaks of "Magistri nostri Roscellini:" (Ouvrages Inédits, p. 471. Paris ed., 1836.) Cousin properly accepts this as conclusive, though he thinks that Abélard's attendance may have been on private lessons, after the return of Roscellinus from England, and just before Abélard's going to Paris. — *Introd. Ouv. Inéd.*, pp. xl–xliii.

[2] Environnant la métropole comme des gardes rangés autour de leur reine. — *Vie d'Abélard*, tom. i. p. 43.

Parisian schools. Two bridges connected the island with the opposite banks of the river, along which abbeys, monasteries, and churches had already begun to arise. On the left bank, where the students were principally lodged, the name "The Latin quarter" still remains a memorial of them. On the right bank were the commercial establishments, which already were assuming importance. Till a hundred years later the place of the Louvre was occupied by a royal hunting-seat, which Philip Augustus then changed to a feudal fortress, and which Francis First converted afterward into a palace. The site of the Tuileries, centuries later, remained a tile-yard. The Place de la Concorde, the Champs Elysées, were swampy grounds or a lonely hill. But, as compared with other cities of the kingdom, Paris was even then attractive and rich; and there were, especially, the schools of philosophy which Abélard sought, and through which he hoped to gain learning and fame.

Of these, the school of Notre-Dame was the most celebrated, with William of Champeaux for its master, and to it students were attracted from all parts of the Continent. To it the steps of Abélard were naturally turned, and he entered it, no doubt, with high anticipations which were not destined fully to be realized. The master, William, while distinguished as a teacher of dialectics, was at the same time archdeacon of Paris. He was known as the "Column of the Teachers," and was among the first to introduce the method and the spirit of the scholastic philosophy into what subsequently became the University of Paris,[1] though the

[1] Archidiacre de Paris, il enseignait avec beaucoup de succès et d'éclat. Il paraît avoir brillé dans la dialectique, donné de quelques-unes des questions qu'elle pose des solutions nouvelles, et appliqué le premier, dans

description given of scholasticism by Cousin well applies to his teaching: "the labor of thought, in the service of the prevalent faith, and under the supervision of Church authority." [1] More, undoubtedly, was prophetically indicated than was immediately signified by his effort logically to formulate and systematically to organize theological doctrine, adjusting, if he might, to the reason of men the mysteries of the faith. Yet his apparent success in the new undertaking was rapidly giving him reputation and influence.

Abélard was too independent and self-assertive in his natural genius, too conscious of power, and too eager for discussion, to be readily submissive to any teacher, while William was certainly not the man to subdue, assimilate, and freshly mould the versatile and haughty intellectual life of the daring young Breton. The understanding of the latter, even at that time, was rapid and intrepid, acute in analysis, retentive of previous mental processes, positive and perhaps stubborn in conclusions. He had a genius for argumentation, as real as that which afterward appeared in Poussin for painting, or in Richelieu for administration. He expressed his thought with easy grace, as well as with youthful ardor and vigor, and abundantly commended it by clear and persuasive illustration; and he had

l'école de Notre-Dame, les formes de la logique à l'enseignement des choses saintes: ce qui a fait dire qu'il avait, le premier, professé publiquement la théologie à Paris, et d'une manière contentieuse, en ce sens qu'il aurait introduit la théologie scolastique. On l'a surnommé la *Colonne des docteurs*. — RÉMUSAT: *Vie d'Abélard*, i. p. 11.

[1] Le moyen âge n'est pas autre chose dans l'ordre de l'esprit que le règne absolu de la religion chrétienne et de l'Église. La philosophie du moyen âge ne pouvait donc être autre chose que le travail de la pensée au service de la foi régnante, et sous la surveillance de l'autorité ecclésiastique. — *Hist. Gén. de la Philosophie*, p. 216. Paris ed., 1867.

been disciplined already in dialectical contest. Ere long he came, therefore, into natural conflict with the master, and carried with him the sympathy and applause of many of the students, while he met the censure and incurred the resentment, if not indeed the lasting animosity, of William of Champeaux, whose conclusions he had challenged, and whose authority he diminished. From that point he dates, in his history of his calamities, the misfortunes which followed him.[1] To our more scanty and fragmentary knowledge of the sequences of things the date may not seem precisely accurate; but it shows how keenly he felt, and how vividly he remembered, both the fact and the consequences of that critical collision.

For the present, however, he only pursued his studies still more widely, and after a little, probably about the year A. D. 1102, at the age of twenty-three, he established for himself a school at Melun, then an important city in France and a royal seat, about thirty miles southeast of Paris, and also on the Seine. Many scholars were drawn to him there, in spite of his youth, perhaps in part by reason of his youth; and he became a favorite with those prominent and controlling in secular affairs. In a short time, however, with the restlessness of his nature, he removed his school from that city to Corbeil, half-way nearer to Paris, and there, excited perhaps by his closer proximity to the capital, he assumed such immense and continuous labors that his health broke down. A Parisian physician, who saw him in his sickness, expressed the general estimate of his acquirements and his powers when he declared

[1] Hinc calamitatum mearum, quæ nunc usque perseverant, cœperunt exordia, et quo amplius fama extendebatur nostra, aliena in me succensa est invidia. — *Opera*, tom. i. p. 4.

in emphatic words, which were afterward adopted by the monks as an epitaph of his patient, that Abélard "knew whatever was knowable."[1] He returned thence to his home in Brittany, for physical restoration.

A few years later, while he was still absent from the city, his old master and adversary, William of Champeaux, withdrew from Paris with some of his disciples, to what was subsequently known as the Abbey of St. Victor, where he continued his instruction; and about A. D. 1108 Abélard, being then nearly thirty years of age, appeared again in the diminishing group of the master's scholars, restored to health, and refreshed no doubt in mental vigor, by his interval of rest from excitement and labor. Again, however, and apparently soon, he came into collision with the lecturer, on the doctrine of Realism, or the positive existence of universals,— like Humanity, for example,— and their essential presence in individuals of a species. Of this doctrine William was a chief champion. Abélard was no doubt familiar with the discussion, through previous training under Roscellinus, whose theory, however, he did not wholly accept; and he so vigorously and persistently assailed the master as to compel him to modify his statement, and practically to retire from his previous ground. This, doubtless, only deepened the animosity toward him of him whom he thus anew defeated, and made his further attendance on the school practically impossible.[2]

[1] The inscription on the tomb at St. Marcel: "Est satis in tumulo, Petrus hic jacet Abælardus, Cui soli patuit scibile quidquid erat." See Hist. Litt., tom. xii. p. 101.

[2] Abélard's account of the matter is this: "Erat autem in ea sententia de communitate universalium, ut eamdem essentialiter rem totam simul singulis suis inesse astrueret individuis; quorum quidem nulla esset in essentia diversitas, sed sola multitudine accidentium varietas. Sic autem

For a short time he taught in the Cathedral-school in Paris, from which William had withdrawn; then again at Melun, where he had before made himself famous; and after a time, outside the walls of Paris, on the height of Saint-Geneviève, in the cloister of a church. Some years later, his father and his mother having both embraced the conventual life, and his veteran antagonist, William of Champeaux, having finally withdrawn from his place in the schools, and become bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, in A. D. 1113, at the age of thirty-four he became himself the admired head of those Parisian schools which were afterward to be developed, under the charter of Philip Augustus in A. D. 1200, into the powerful and renowned University. Of course he was not learned, in the modern sense and range of that word; no man of his century could be. But he read the Latin authors, classical and patristic, with ease and ardor, and often quoted them; he knew something of Greek, though probably not enough to enable him to read in the original even extracts from his favorite teachers, Plato and Aristotle;[1] and after he had attained the highest rank among his young contemporaries for philosophical subtlety and boldness, and for a singularly clear and animating eloquence in setting forth his thought, he turned his attention to theology,

istam tunc suam correxit sententiam, ut deinceps rem eamdem non essentialiter, sed indifferenter diceret. . . . Hinc tantum roboris et auctoritatis nostra suscepit disciplina, ut ii, qui antea vehementius magistro illi nostro adhærebant, et maxime nostram infestabant doctrinam, ad nostras convolarent scholas." — *Opera*, Hist. Calamit., tom. i. p. 5.

[1] Nous ne voulons pas dire qu'Abélard ignorait le grec au point de ne pouvoir se rendre compte de quelques mots isolés dont il avait sous les yeux la traduction. Il est possible qu'il eût quelque teinture des éléments de la grammaire grecque ; mais il ne savait pas véritablement le grec, et il ne pouvait mettre à profit les Pères et les auteurs grecs en très-petit nombre qu'on possédait à cette époque. — COUSIN *Introd. Ouv. Inéd.*, p. xlviii.

and determined to become equal master of that. For this purpose he placed himself under the instruction of Anselm of Laon, — not at all to be confounded with Anselm of Canterbury, — who was at the time, and had been for years, in great repute as a teacher in theology, attracting students from far and near. It was very likely not unjust to this veteran theological instructor, — there have been such since at different times, — and it was certainly characteristic of Abélard, that he took almost at once the impression of Anselm that he had marvellous facility in speech, with very little sense; was as a tree loaded with leaves but with no fruit, like the barren fig-tree cursed of the Master; that when he lighted his fire there was abundance of smoke but no flame.[1] The student soon neglected the lessons which he found so unsatisfactory, and after a little, being incited in part it would appear by the taunts of his fellow-students, he began to lecture himself on the writings of the prophet Ezekiel. Even those who had derided him came to hear him, and were soon as much delighted as surprised by the extraordinary readiness with which he set forth and illustrated the contents of the prophecy. Anselm was naturally irritated by the sudden success in his own department of this confident and contemptuous scholar, and interdicted his lectures at Laon, forcing him to return to Paris.

There, all schools were now open to him. He was welcomed with enthusiasm, and was probably at that

[1] Verborum usum habebat mirabilem, sed sensu contemptibilem, et ratione vacuum. Quum ignem accenderet, domum suam fumo implebat, non luce illustrabat. Arbor ejus tota in foliis aspicientibus a longe conspicua videbatur, sed propinquantibus, et diligentius intuentibus infructuosa repericbatur. Ad hanc itaque quum accessissem ut fructum inde colligerem, deprehendi illam esse ficulneam cui maledixit Dominus. — *Opera*, Hist. Calamit., p. 7.

time made a canon in the Church. Rémusat has given a picture of him as he then appeared, imaginative of course, but not, I conceive, essentially overdrawn, and certainly, in the light of what ere long followed, full of an unspeakable pathos. He speaks of him as a man of a broad brow, a keen and haughty glance, and a proud step, whose beauty preserved the brilliance of youth while taking upon it the more marked lines and deeper tints of a complete manhood. He mentions particularly his grave yet careful dress, the elegance of his manners, the imposing grace of his bearing, in which yet appeared a certain indolent negligence, such as follows naturally the habit of success and the consciousness of power, and the admiring attention fixed upon him by those who made way for him, with their eagerness to hear any word from his lips. People thronged to see him as he passed; men hurried to their doors; women thrust aside the curtains from their narrow windows; Paris had adopted him, says Rémusat, as its own child, its ornament, and its luminary. It was the most tranquil and brilliant period in Abélard's career.[1]

The times were, in many respects, peculiarly favorable to the extension of the influence and the promotion of the fame of a man like him. Ideas were more and more occupying men's minds, often dimly apprehended, but felt to be essential and beautiful powers in that spiritual sphere with which the mind has native relation; and ideas had now found at Paris a fit and noble radiating centre. Aspiring students from all over Europe were eagerly converging upon it. It was becoming the capital of thought and discussion for many nations. Picts, Scots, Gascons, Normans, Danes, Germans, Swedes, Italians, Spaniards, crowded to hear its

[1] Vie d'Abélard, tom. i. pp. 43-44.

famous teachers, among whom Abélard was the dominating figure. Within a year or two, five thousand pupils are said to have been gathered around him. The number would appear altogether incredible if it were not attested by ample evidence. It has been said, no doubt with exaggeration, that the number of students at Paris was greater than the number of citizens;[1] and of course the reach of the influence of a teacher there was in the strictest sense continental. It touched the future, as well as the present; and men who were afterward to be not only eminent but principal persons in the Church and in the State were now taking impressions from the brilliant, acute, and commanding eloquence of him whom the city and the schools triumphantly extolled as the first of philosophers, if not the first of living theologians. Popes, cardinals, archbishops, and princes, as well as free-thinkers and reformers, were being in effect moulded by him for future work.[2]

[1] Ce concours prodigieux de Professeurs et de la plus brillante jeunesse de l'Europe, qui venoit prendre de leurs leçons, fit de Paris une autre Athènes. . . . Dès le milieu du siècle, la multitude des Étudiants y surpassoit le nombre des Citöiens; et l'on avoit peine à y trouver des logements. Cette circonstance put fort bien concourir à déterminer le Roi Philippe Auguste à aggrandir la Ville: et les aggrandissements considérables qu'il y fit, contribuèrent de leur côté à y multiplier encore davantage les Étudiants. Il y venoit de toutes parts tant de monde, qu'on a dit de Paris, qu'il étoit alors devenu, comme Rome, la patrie de tous les habitants de l'Univers. — *Hist. Litt. de la France*, tom. ix. p. 78 (xii. siècle.)

Il n'étoit bruit que du professeur Abélard, non-seulement en France, mais dans les pays étrangers. L'Anjou, la Bretagne, la Flandre, l'Angleterre, l'Allemagne, se hâtèrent d'envoyer leur jeunes sujets à Paris pour se former aux sciences sous un docteur si renommé. En un mot, jamais école dans la capitale n'avoit été si brillante que la sienne. — *Hist. Litt.*, xii. pp. 91–92.

To have had John of Salisbury for a pupil was of itself a great distinction.

[2] De cette célèbre école sont sortis un pape, dix-neuf cardinaux, plus de

In the same year, A. D. 1113, when Abélard thus became not an admired leader only, but almost an acknowledged monarch, in the domain of European discussion, Bernard with his companions entered the convent of Citeaux, and began that life of severe and unceasing monastic discipline which was, he hoped, to bring his spirit near to God. He was twenty-two years of age, and Abélard thirty-four. They certainly could have known very little of each other, probably nothing, though the fame of the exulting champion of the schools may possibly in its echoes have reached the ear of the young monk. But the contrast between them, as they thus stand before us, is as striking, almost, as any contrast in history.

Both of them were of noble descent, born in castles, and bred in whatever was rich and elegant in the fashion of the time. Both were of religious households, and the parents of both closed their life in convents, except that Aletta, the mother of Bernard, had transferred the cloister-life to her castle. Both were beautiful in person, graceful in manner, and had the power of strangely attracting those who came within their range.

cinquante évêques ou archevêques de France, d'Angleterre et d'Allemagne, et un bien plus grand nombre encore de ces hommes auxquels eurent souvent affaire les papes, les évêques et les cardinaux, comme Arnaud de Brescia, et beaucoup d'autres. On a fait monter à plus de cinq mille le nombre des disciples qui se réunirent alors autour d'Abailard. — GUIZOT: *Abailard et Héloïse*, p. xviii. Paris ed., 1853.

Beaucoup de ses sectateurs étaient maintenant assez avancés dans la carrière pour l'aider de l'autorité, de l'influence ou de la réputation qu'ils avaient acquises; l'Église en comptait plusieurs parmi ses grands dignitaires. Quelques-uns, étrangers à la France, et même à la Gaule, avaient rapporté dans leur patrie son souvenir et ses opinions. On disait qu'elles avaient pénétré dans le sacré collége. Ses anciens disciples peuplaient les rangs élevés de l'enseignement, de la littérature et du clergé. — RÉMUSAT: *Vie d'Abélard*, tom. i. p. 166.

It would seem, at first sight, as if two men with a closer resemblance could hardly have stood at the same time within the circle of Christendom. But their unlikeness went back to the centres of life, and in whatsoever was morally distinctive they were absolutely antipathetic. Abélard was self-confident, luxurious, proud, and already, or soon, was falling into licentious habits.[1] Bernard was austere, severely self-disciplined, with a heart which hungered for one thing supremely, likeness to God.

Proficiency in science was the ideal of one, sainthood of the other. Abélard loved the city, great audiences, fame. Bernard loved the woods, the solitary meditation, the companionship of the few who were in close spiritual sympathy with him. He would gladly have effaced his name from the records of mankind, if he might have the inward assurance that that name was inscribed in God's Book of Life. Abélard's enthusiasm, so far as it did not concern his own aims and personal ambitions, was moved toward great thinkers; Bernard's toward the holy. The one was a splendid man of the world, accomplished in his art, imperious in his spirit, and at the time unrivalled in his position; the other was a predestined monk, self-searching and self-abased, penitent, believing, and wholly intent on doing God's will.

[1] Sed quoniam prosperitas stultos semper inflat, et mundana tranquillitas vigorem enervat animi, et per carnales illecebras facile resolvit; quum jam me solum in mundo superesse philosophum æstimarem, nec ullam ulterius inquietationem formidarem, frena libidini cœpi laxare, qui antea vixeram continentissime; et quo amplius in philosophia vel sacra lectione profecerem, amplius a philosophis et divinis immunditia vitæ recebam. — *Opera, Hist. Calamit.*, i. p. 9.

In his second letter to Héloïse, written long after, he says with a sad confession: "Amor meus, qui utrumque nostrum peccatis involvebat, concupiscentia, non amor dicendus est. Miseras in te meas voluptates implebam, et hoc erat totum amabam." — *Opera*, i. p. 103.

While Abélard, therefore, was astonishing the metropolis, and fixing the gaze of Europe on himself, by the freshness, boldness, and vivacity of his thought, and by the unusual brilliancy and energy with which he expressed it, Bernard was occupied with the intense culture of piety, and in trying to uphold the spirit of his monks; he was joyfully living on roots and bran, was seeing visions in his cell, was striving to get the wilderness subdued, and was searching with all the fervor of his soul after that consummate fellowship with the Master in which to him was Life Eternal.

The two stood at points so remote, in outward situation and in moral significance, that it might seem impossible that they ever should come into personal collision: and Abélard would no doubt have smiled with gay incredulity at the thought, if it had been suggested, that the frail, abstemious, and secluded young monk, unknown of men, and hiding himself in the "Valley of Wormwood," would ever be able to challenge and shatter his haughty supremacy. But it might even then have been foreseen, by those who thoroughly knew the two men, that their relations in after life could hardly be cordial, and that, if they ever should come to combat, the younger, and apparently the weaker of the two, would not be the first to ground his arms. It was not, however, till years after this that any such collision occurred: and meantime Abélard's life had been smitten by occurrences so startling and tragic that the world never since has been able to forget them.

In A.D. 1118 the most distinguished and engaging maiden in Paris was Héloïse, niece of one Fulbert, a canon of the Cathedral, and living in his house. She may not have been in person so surpassingly beautiful as the feeling of after times has loved to fancy her. At

least Abélard, writing afterward, did not so describe her.[1] But she was intellectually superior to any other woman of the time whose name has come to us, and was, as her subsequent life and letters abundantly show, of a remarkably engaging and noble nature. She had been educated by the nuns in the convent of Argenteuil, not far from Paris, and had now come back to the gay capital, at the age of eighteen, to become a centre of attraction and admiration to all who knew her rare qualities of mind and heart. Her acquirements were unusual, her speech charming, her manner delightful; her aspirations were high, and her peculiarly winning and splendid spirit must already have found general recognition. To the work of seducing her from the path and law of feminine virtue Abélard applied himself, with a success which is known of all. The renown of his learning, the fascination of his real and striking genius for letters, his fine and grand manners, and the glamour of universal admiration with which he was attended, made the conquest more easy, as he had foreseen;[2] and he was not long in finally subduing the brilliant young

[1] Abélard's description of her is: "Erat quippe in ipsa civitate Parisius adolescentula quædam nomine Heloissa. . . . Quæ quum per faciem non esset infima, per abundantiam litterarum erat suprema. Nam quo bonum hoc, litteratoriæ scilicet scientiæ, in mulieribus est rarius, eo amplius puellam commendabat, et in toto regno nominatissimam fecerat." — *Hist. Calamit.*, Opera, i. p 9.

Milman speaks of her as "distinguished for her surpassing beauty" (Hist. Lat. Christ., iv. 201); Rémusat says, "Sa figure, sans avoir une parfaite beauté, l'aurait distinguée" (Vie d'Abélard, i. 47); Michelet describes her as "toute jeune, belle, savante" (Hist. de France, ii. 290). The natural impression of Abélard's words is of a rather plain person, with the light of genius and ardent feeling shining in the face.

[2] Tanti quippe tunc nominis eram, et juventutis et formæ gratia præeminebam, ut quamcunque feminarum nostro dignarer amore, nullam vererer repulsam. — *Opera*, Hist. Calamit., i. 10.

girl to his relentless and vehement passion. The birth of their son, their subsequent marriage, the savage punishment inflicted upon Abélard by the desperately enraged uncle of Héloïse, their final separation into convents, and the touching and memorable correspondence between them, which began later, and which never has ceased to interest the world, — all these are known, and upon them it is not needful to dwell.

But it is distinctly important to observe that from the time of his first relations with Héloïse not only the fame of Abélard began to decline and his influence to wane, but his essential power of intellect and will to darken and falter. He says himself that he went thenceforth reluctantly to the schools, and withdrew from them as speedily as possible.[1] His books, lectures, pupils, were neglected, and he spoke no more from an active imagination, under a present keen impulse, out of thoughts brimming with results of recent research, or with the full swing of his mind; he only repeated what his lips found to say, under the suggestions of memory and of habit. And when life had been blasted for him, and his career had been fatally broken, in the dreadful result, it was long before he regained enough, — I will not say of the old brilliant audacity of his spirit, for that never came back, — but of mental self-control, the power of consecutive intellectual processes, to enable him to resume his teaching. He never permanently resumed it in Paris.

Héloïse, who was far nobler as a woman than he was as a man, who had long resisted his urgency for the marriage which should restore her good name, lest it should embarrass and check his career, who had only at last retired to a convent at his command, and who to

[1] Hist. Calamit., Opera, i. p. 11.

the end, when the honored and venerated Lady Abbess of her convent, never forgot what had been to her the magnificence of her life in her intense and self-sacrificing devotion to this superb son of Brittany, evidently grew in greatness of spirit by her terrible sorrows. Cousin has said of her, not extravagantly, that "she loved like Saint Theresa, she wrote like Seneca, while her irresistible grace charmed Saint Bernard himself."[1] De Rémusat says that "her century put her at the head of all women;" and he adds, for himself, "I do not know that posterity has contradicted her century."[2] After her death she was described on the annals of her convent as "Mother and first Abbess of this house, most illustrious in learning and religion." But Abélard plainly sank beneath the stroke; and after that frightful crisis in his life the former glow and joy of his genius only intermittently and fitfully reappeared.

[1] Enfin, pour que rien ne manquât à la singularité de sa vie et à la popularité de son nom, ce dialecticien, qui avait éclipsé Roscelin et Guillaume de Champeaux, ce théologien contre lequel se leva le Bossuet du douzième siècle, était beau, poëte, et musicien; il faisait en langue vulgaire des chansons qui amusaient les écoliers et les dames; et chanoine de la cathédrale, professeur du cloître, il fut aimé jusqu'au plus absolu dévouement par cette noble créature, qui aima comme sainte Thérèse, écrivit quelquefois comme Sénèque, et dont la grâce devait être irrésistible, puisqu'elle charma Saint Bernard lui-même. — *Hist. Générale de la Philos.*, p. 228, note. Paris ed., 1867.

[2] Son siècle la mettait au-dessus de toutes les femmes, et je ne sais si la postérité a démenti son siècle. — *Vie d'Abélard*, i. 262–263.

Héloïse est, je crois, la première des femmes. — *Ibid.* p. 273.

Elle appelait saint Bernard *un faux apôtre*, et lui-même paraît n'avoir entretenu avec elle que des relations bienveillantes. . . . Ainsi, les chefs des institutions les plus puissantes, Clairvaux et Cluni, les rois du cloître, traitaient sur un pied d'égalité avec la reine des religieuses, avec cette docte abbesse, d'une vie si chaste et si pure, et qui aurait donné mille fois son voile, sa croix et sa couronne, pour entendre encore chanter sous sa fenêtre par un enfant de la Cité qu'elle était la maîtresse du maître Pierre. — *Vie d'Abélard*, tom. i. pp. 167–168.

I cannot further follow his career with particular detail. Only its prominent points can be indicated, and this rapidly. He first entered the abbey of St. Denis, near Paris, whose church became the Westminster of the French kings until the fury of Revolution broke upon it, and whose banner of the golden flame became the oriflamme of France till the day of Agincourt. But he soon came into vehement conflict with both monks and abbot, whose ignorance repelled him, while their scandalous life jarred on his remorseful heart. Repulsed from within, and probably invited from without, he withdrew to a house dependent on the convent, and resumed his lectures, attracting at once a throng of disciples. He aimed to give philosophical proof, explanation and illustration, of the Christian doctrines as held at the time; and a book styled "Introduction to Theology," prepared by him, was substantially a digest of his lectures, especially on the nature of God as combining Unity and Trinity. It was prepared with special reference to those who acknowledged no obligation to believe a doctrine without fully understanding it, and to whom forms of words had no value unless their meaning were intellectually clearly perceived.[1] His effort was, in other words, to present a rational philosophy of the Christian religion, and without denying its transcendent truths to so commend them to the intelligence of men as to win for them just mental assent, and to reconcile with them the more searching and inquisitive thought of the time.

[1] Quemdam theologiæ tractatum de Unitate et Trinitate divina scholaribus nostris componerem, qui humanas et philosophicas rationes requirebant, et plus quæ intelligi quam quæ dici possent efflagitabant; dicentes quidem verborum superfluam esse prolationem, quam intelligentia non sequeretur, nec credi posse aliquid nisi primitus intellectum, et ridiculosum esse aliquem aliis prædicare quod nec ipse, nec illi quos doceret intellectu capere possent. — *Opera*, Hist. Calamit., i. p. 18.

It was an effort, it seems to us, which ought to have won the sympathy of those then eminent in the Church who could at all forecast the future. But he appears to have pursued it in a somewhat derisive and imperious spirit, as not at all tender toward weaker minds, and either refusing to notice their criticisms, or answering them with a haughty disdain which no doubt sometimes changed dissentients into enemies.[1] Many forces, too, were combining against him; more, probably, than he recognized, while surrounded by the praise of his pupils. The masters of other schools, whose scholars were attracted by his superior eloquence; the officers of the Church, who did not know to what this thing might grow, and who were themselves chiefly concerned to maintain the institutions from which they derived profit and fame; even the higher class of minds, and the nobler spirits, who felt it a true homage to God to believe, on His word, what they could not prove and did not for themselves altogether understand,—all these were combined against one whom they esteemed a rash adventurer on a dangerous path, if not a concealed enemy of the truth.

Such a combination was too strong for him; and at a Council held at Soissons A. D. 1121, with an unjust violence at which many at the time were offended, and which still stirs the indignation of readers, he was, without any fair examination or any opportunity to reply to his assailants, condemned as a Sabellian; he was compelled with his own hand to cast his book into the flames, and was sent to what was meant to be a

[1] Abélard, sans mépriser absolument ces attaques, les repoussa avec hauteur, et répondit par l'insulte et le défi. Toujours confiant et impérieux, il provoquait une lutte qu'il ne croyait pas, je pense, qu'on osât engager. — RÉMUSAT: *Vie d'Abélard*, i. p. 78.

permanent imprisonment in the convent of St. Médard, not far from the city. But there was great and general dissatisfaction with the action of the Council. Even those who had taken part in it were constrained to apologize for their vote, or to disavow it.[1] The papal legate publicly attributed the extraordinary judgment to French jealousy of Abélard, "invidia Francorum," and after a little sent him back to his convent at St. Denis.

Here again, however, he came into another, still ruder controversy, with his associate monks; not now on any great matters of theology, and not primarily even on their dissoluteness of manners, but on the question concerning which his position certainly seems to us innocent enough,— whether Dionysius the Areopagite had in fact been the founder of that abbey. The adverse opinion of Abélard was fortified by a passage in the writings of the Venerable Bede, to which he appealed; but the monks felt that the glory of their abbey was being assailed, if not the glory of the kingdom itself; they became furious beyond bounds, called Bede a liar, and determined to send Abélard to the king, as a prisoner of state, to be punished for treason. He had to escape secretly by night, and fled into the province of Champagne, where he was kindly received by the count, and found a temporary refuge in the priory of Saint-Ayoul, whose chief had been one of his former friends. The abbot of St. Denis having died in A. D.

[1] A peine rendu, cependant, le jugement du concile fut loin de rencontrer une approbation générale. On trouva dans ses procédés, rudesse, dureté, précipitation. L'oppression était évidente, le droit très-douteux. Beaucoup d'ailleurs penchaient à croire la vérité du côté d'Abélard; bientôt ceux qui avaient siégé à Soissons durent se justifier; plusieurs repoussaient la solidarité du jugement et désavouaient leur propre vote. — RÉMUSAT: *Vie d'Abélard*, tom. i. p. 100.

1122, and having been succeeded by Suger, who was not at the time a man of any fervor in the faith, though of sound sense and political wisdom, Abélard at length obtained his release from the hated abbey, and was permitted, on easy conditions, to live where he pleased.

He retired into the neighborhood of Troyes, on the banks of the Ardusson, with a single attendant, and built himself a small oratory of reeds and thatch, to which he gave the touching name "The Paraclete," The Comforter. He was speedily followed thither by many who remembered the fame of his earlier teachings, and who were eager to hear for themselves his clear and large thought, illustrated by unusual learning, and expressed in the melodious majesty of his renowned eloquence. Such multitudes came that they could only house themselves in cabins roughly and hastily built like his own, by their own hands, and the question of their daily subsistence was one hard to be solved. But, though many of them highly-born and delicately nurtured, they cheerfully faced and endured all hardship, and inured themselves to difficult labors, that they might be near him, and receive what to them were kindling thoughts. While themselves living in huts they built for him a house of stone, took full charge of his daily provision, and replaced the rude oratory by a spacious and handsome church to which the name, The Paraclete, still adhered.[1] His influence was again sig-

[1] Maître du choix de sa demeure, il alla s'établir sur les bords de la rivière d'Ardusson, dans un lieu désert, voisin de la ville de Nogent-sur-Seine. Ses disciples ne tardèrent pas à l'y venir trouver. Ni l'horreur du séjour, ni la difficulté de s'y procurer les choses nécessaires à la vie, ne rebutèrent cette multitude de jeunes gens, la plupart délicatement élevés. La compagnie de leur maître, avides qu'ils étoient de ses leçons, leur tenoit lieu de tout. Pour ne lui laisser aucun sujet de distraction, ils se chargèrent de pourvoir à son entretien. La manière dont ils s'acquit-

nal and wide, and was rapidly widening; and it seemed as if at last, after the tempests which had beaten on his life, smooth seas were before him, and a prosperous voyage.

But his health was broken; his nervous system appears, as would be natural, to have been shattered or disorganized; he was by turns rash and timid, suspicious and defiant; successive calamities had come to seem to him the natural order of his life; and he grew to be afraid of his own influence, and of the renewed and more vehement attacks which he feared that it might bring upon him. He grew restless, especially, in view of the possible, perhaps the probable, antagonism to him of Norbert, the head of the famous order of Premonstrants, and of Bernard, then for fourteen years established at Clairvaux.[1] It does not appear that up to this time he had ever met Bernard, or that he did meet him till several years later, when they were both at the monastery of Morigni with Innocent Second. But Clairvaux and The Paraclete were in the same dis-

tèrent de ce soin fit l'éloge de leur générosité. Contens d'habiter eux-mêmes dans des cabanes de roseaux, ils lui bâtirent un logement de pierre, et convertirent le petit oratoire qu'il avoit construit de ses mains, en une église spacieuse et bien ornée. Cet édifice fut dédié au Paraclet. — *Hist. Litt.* tom. xii. p. 95.

[1] De Rémusat gives a brilliantly savage description of the two men, Norbert and Bernard, the exact justice of which can by no means be admitted, but which ought perhaps to be quoted, in fairness to the learned and eloquent biographer and eulogist of Abélard : —

"Deux hommes commençaient à s'élever dans l'Église, tous deux destinés à devenir célèbres et puissants, bien qu'à des degrés fort inégaux ; tous deux renommés par la piété, le savoir, l'activité, l'autorité, par toutes les vertus et toutes les passions qui font la grandeur d'un prêtre ; tous deux d'une charité ardente et d'un caractère inflexible, cruels à eux-mêmes, humbles et impérieux, tendres et implacables, faits pour édifier et opprimer la terre, et ambitieux d'arriver, par les bonnes œuvres et les actes tyranniques, au rang des saints dans le ciel." — *Vie d'Abélard*, tom. i. p. 114.

trict, not many leagues apart; and no one could have been more alive than was Abélard to the essential differences between them,—the one a school of most austere discipline in the piety of the time, the other a school of free inquiry and wide-ranging thought; the one a house to train men to serve the Church and the Pontiff, in whatever office these might command, the other a seminary in which religion was regarded as "a science and a sentiment, not an institution or a cause."[1]

Abélard also felt, no doubt, the vital antithesis between his views of life, duty, and truth, and those of Bernard; and it may easily have occurred to him that the younger monk, who was already rapidly becoming the leader and counsellor of princes and of popes, might have taken unfavorable impressions concerning him from William of Champeaux and Anselm of Laon, both of whom had been friends of Bernard after being embittered against the lecturer whose fame had vastly eclipsed their own. At any rate, for whatever reason, Abélard became suspicious of a hostility which did not yet appear, and expectant of an assault which if it came might finally crush him. His temper had become morbid; his courage seemed to be broken, and his whole moral force to have quite given way. If wandering monks approached the Paraclete, he thought they were coming to summon him to a Council, at which his fate had been foredoomed. He seriously meditated, he says himself, flying beyond the bounds of Christendom, to obtain among the infidels a rest and security which he despaired of finding in Christian lands.[2] Amid all

[1] Rémusat, Vie d'Abélard, i. 118.

[2] Sæpe autem (Deus scit) in tantam lapsus sum desperationem, ut Christianorum finibus excessis, ad gentes transire disponerem, atque ibi quiete, sub quacunque tributi pactione, inter inimicos Christi christiane

the applause which surrounded his steps, he stood and moved in what was almost a bloody sweat.

At just this time, however, came to him, in A. D. 1125, an urgent invitation to become the abbot of the monastery of St. Gildas, in his native province; an invitation which he accepted, to an office in which he probably expected to pass the remainder of his overshadowed and unquiet life. But misfortune pursued him with a strange pertinacity. The country of the convent was remote and inhospitable, the people around it were rude and uncultured, the neighboring lord was tyrannical and greedy, and the monks were of the lowest and grossest class. Abélard came at once into violent conflict with his dissolute, refractory, and unmanageable companions. He could not control them, and he could not live with them. He became ere long afraid for his life, feared assassination, and believed, whether with reason or not, that they were trying to poison him, not only in his daily food, but in the wine of the sacramental cup.[1] There was nothing left for him but to escape from the monastery, which he shortly did, and to take up again his weary and solitary way in the world.

Only one thing remained, accomplished at St. Gildas, on which he could look with any satisfaction, but that

vivere; quos tanto magis propitios me habiturum credebam, quanto me minus christianum ex imposito mihi crimine suspicarentur, et ob hoc facilius ad sectam suam inclinari posse crederent. — *Opera*, Hist. Calamit., i. 29.

[1] O quoties veneno me perdere tentaverunt! . . . A talibus autem eorum quotidianis insidiis quum mihi in administratione cibi vel potus quantum possem providerem, in ipso altaris sacrificio toxicare me moliti sunt, veneno scilicet calici immisso. . . . Qui si me transiturum aliquo præsensissent, corruptos per pecuniam latrones in viis aut semitis, ut me interficerent, opponebant. — *Hist. Calamit.*, Opera, i. 35.

gave him a keen and deep pleasure. Héloïse and her nuns had been constrained to leave their convent at Argenteuil, which had been claimed as belonging to the abbey of St. Denis, and they had been left practically homeless. Abélard succeeded in transferring to them the property of the Paraclete, in assisting to maintain them there till the new convent was fully established, and in seeing them fairly started on the way to the large prosperity which they afterward enjoyed. To his sore and sick heart the place must have been more than ever The Comforter, when this good work had been accomplished. To the end of his life he doubtless looked back on this passage in it with grateful joy.[1]

It was after his escape from St. Gildas, and while in a refuge which friendly hands had opened to him, that he wrote the History of his Calamities; a book unique in its kind, though showing some resemblances, no doubt, to the Confessions of Saint Augustine, and afterward imitated, possibly, in parts, in the more artificial Confessions of Rousseau. How often it has been commented on, reviewed, analyzed, you of course are aware. It is one of the saddest books ever written; and every one who thoughtfully reads it must share the feeling of his biographer, that "no better instruction

[1] Le Paraclet fournit encore une illustre preuve de l'autre sorte d'écoles, qui étoit pour les Religieuses. Non-seulement on y faisoit une étude particulière de l'Écriture Sainte, des ouvrages des Pères de l'Église, du Plainchant, de la Musique ; mais on s'y appliquoit aussi à la connoissance de la Médecine et de la Chirurgie, afin de se pouvoir passer du secours des hommes. Abélard, qui dirigeoit cette Maison par lettres, vouloit même qu'outre la langue Latine, on y apprît aussi le Grec et l'Hébreu, en quoi il étoit un peu singulier, comme en beaucoup d'autres points. Il avoit réglé, que l'Abbesse Héloïse, qui possédoit ces langues avec d'autres belles connoissances, les enseigneroit à ses sœurs. L'ardeur qu'elles avoient en particulier pour entrer dans le sens des divines Écritures, est admirable. — *Hist. Litt.*, tom. ix. p. 128. Paris ed., 1750.

can anywhere be given of the misery which may come with the most beautiful things of the world, genius, learning, glory, love."[1] It had, however, one immediate effect, not probably contemplated by him, but for which, as for itself, the world will remember it. A copy of it fell into the hands of Héloïse, in her new convent, was read by her with an absorbing and passionate interest, and became the occasion of her first letter to Abélard, and so of the memorable correspondence which followed. The sweetness, dignity, and passion of her letters are in singular contrast with the cooler and more elaborate tone by which his are marked; but it may safely be affirmed that as long as the story of human hearts continues to have an interest for men, these letters, translated a century later into the common language of France, translated and retranslated since into many languages, paraphrased, versified, and published in multitudinous editions, will have a charm for those who read. Mr. Hallam was right; we do not care half so much for anything else in the literature of the time as for these.

There followed some years in the life of Abélard, after he had finally left St. Gildas, of the outward history of which we know very little, but which seem to have been years of special intellectual activity with him, and in which probably his principal literary, philosophical, and theological works were produced. The rewritten "Introduction to Theology," the "Christian Theology," the "Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans," the "Sic et Non," the "Dialogue between a Jew and a Christian," the "Exposition of the Hexameron," and the ethical book "Scito te ipsum," are attributed to this period, with many of his sermons and

[1] De Rémusat, Vie d'Abélard, tom. i. p. 139.

briefer writings; and his restless spirit no doubt found needed pleasure and repose in these various labors. About A. D. 1136 he again opened a school on Mount St. Geneviève, and lectured there for a short time with brilliancy and success, though the contrast of his darkened and waning age with the splendid maturity of twenty years before must, one would think, have disheartened and oppressed him. Certainly one cannot figure him revisiting those scenes of fame and of gloom, and taking up with feebler force the labors before so fatally broken, without a sense of inexpressible sympathy. Precisely when he left the school and ceased publicly to lecture, or why he left it, are questions not now to be answered. The fact that he did leave it, and that adverse forces were again being assembled against him, are the only facts which clearly appear; and so we come to the Council of Sens, in A. D. 1140, and to the final combat *à outrance* between himself and the Abbot of Clairvaux. At this point, then, they demand our careful attention, and some things are to be clearly borne in mind that we may understand their relations to each other.

I have said already that they had met at least once before, at Morigni, when Innocent Second was in France, and when Bernard was his devoted attendant. Once, too, at a later time, Abélard had addressed a letter to Bernard,[1] which has in parts of it an ironical, and perhaps an irritating tone, on the proper translation of the word usually rendered "daily" bread, in the Lord's Prayer; Abélard contending that it should be translated "super-substantial" bread, as in the Vulgate version of Matthew's gospel, and as he himself had directed it to be said in the devotions at The Paraclete. It does not appear that Bernard answered this letter, or

[1] Epist. ad Divum Bernardum. — *Opera Abél.*, i. 618–624.

left any record to show that it displeased him, though it may have served to quicken and confirm any feeling adverse to Abélard, as rash, headstrong, fond of novelties, which had before been lodged in his mind. But their first public meeting, at any rate, was at this Council of Sens, when Abélard was already sixty-one years of age and Bernard forty-nine, and when the collision occurred which was the fruit of many forces which had preceded.

I have spoken already of the marked differences between the two men, if I should not rather say their essential antagonism, of spirit, of teaching, and of practical tendency. The differences which had appeared even thirty years before had only been developed and signalized by time. To Bernard sanctity of life and of spirit was still the transcendent good of man,—the condition of Divine Wisdom, since the pure in heart are they who see God, the condition of usefulness, of blessedness, and of hope; the element of celestial experience. In those, and only in those, who attained it, was the final experience which had become possible through Redemption predicted on earth, and perfected in heaven. The Church doctrine and ritual were sacred to him because he believed them to inspire and nurture this superlative holiness. The world was only important to him as an arena for the attainment of this, which brought men to fellowship with the Most High. It mattered not what else a man had, if he had not this he was poor for eternity. But if he had this, whether statesman or serf or unknown monk, his place was with the sons of light. In theory, Abélard would hardly have denied this; but practically, to him, a free, bold, discursive intellectual activity was the chief good of higher souls; mental alertness,

and a various acquirement, were the goal of his desire, — to know what was knowable, to reach conclusions through processes of argument which could not be answered, and to stand at the head of the logical and philosophical movement of his century.

Bernard was profoundly self-distrustful before God, though never timid before outward danger, or shaken in spirit by human opposition. It was the very diffidence and humility of his manner at ordinary times which gave him in momentous emergencies his tremendous impressiveness. When the cause of righteousness and of truth, as he saw it, was imperilled by assault, his spirit flashed into sudden flame of intensest purpose which amazed men, and subdued them, with words that fell like shattering bolts out of the bosom of a soft-moving cloud. His overwhelming energy then startled the more by its contrast with his customary delicate reserve. Abélard, on the other hand, was irritable, self-confident, even arrogant and haughty in his usual tone, disdainful toward adversaries, and ready at any time to challenge controversy, or essay any difficult mental enterprise. He loved applause, and delighted in praise. He only half lived when out of men's sight, and when the general thought and speech were not occupied with him. He was gratified when he excited fear. The contrast in appearance between the two was noticed by observers at the Council of Sens. Bernard entered alone, with downcast eyes, serious face, in coarse garments, dispensing benedictions to those who sought them. Abélard strode in, surrounded by his disciples, with head erect and a proud mien, startling those who looked on his worn and scornful face.[1] The

[1] Lorsqu'il vit entrer dans ses murs d'un côté saint Bernard seul, triste, souffrant, les yeux baissés, couvert de la robe grossière de Clairvaux, et pré-

difference corresponds with all that we know of the character of the men.

Above all, to Bernard sensual passion was the object of extremest disdain and dread. Even in his most susceptible youth, when he had felt an improper impulse suggested by the sight of a beautiful woman, he had plunged into a pool of ice-cold water, to freeze and drown the very sensibility to such a suggestion.[1] Any sensual indulgence was to him as the lambent fire of hell, shining but deadly, piercing the soul with destroying flame, enwrapping it in doom; while the sensual successes and calamities of Abélard, at the height of his fame, had been a conspicuous scandal of Christendom. To those who had watched his subsequent career, with its restless agitations and passionate changes, it might not be certain that his temper in this respect had been radically changed by the fierce sorrows through which he had passed.

It was therefore not to be expected that the two men should stand in close and harmonious relations with each other. There are cases where the peculiarities of one man so fit with and compensate the peculiarities of another that their union is more intimate because of their differences. But where essential moral repellences continuously appear, the nearer men approach, the more sharp and complete their antagonism is. Abélard naturally thought Bernard fanatical and narrow; and from

cédé d'une renommée de sainteté merveilleuse ; de l'autre, Abélard, qui, malgré son âge et ses maux, portait encore avec fierté une tête belle et détruite, et marchait entouré de ses disciples à l'aspect quelque peu profane. Partout où passait le saint Abbé, on voyait les genoux fléchir, les fronts s'incliner sous la bénédiction de la main dont on racontait les miracles. Sur les pas d'Abélard, ceux qu'attirait la curiosité étaient presqu'aussitôt repoussés par l'effroi. — DE RÉMUSAT : *Vie d'Abélard*, i. p. 204.

[1] Vita, i. cap. 3 ; Opera, vol. ii. col. 2096.

his point of view he judged correctly. Bernard had a profound distrust of the spirit of Abélard, and was prepared to believe, perhaps too readily, that his writings were pernicious, and that the tendencies, intellectual and spiritual, represented in him, would work a dreary decadence in the Church. It must be remembered, too, that the teachings of Abélard were often exaggerated, perhaps unconsciously misrepresented, by the zealous disciples who had taken from him a strong impulse and a definite bent, but who did not reproduce his careful discriminations; who uttered crudely what he expressed finely, and in whom his boldness of spirit was replaced by an irritating swagger. The copies of his books being necessarily few, and hard to obtain, it was inevitable that the general Christian thought of the time should take its impression of him and his doctrine from those who professed to have received his thought from his own lips, and who were certainly his ardent admirers.[1] But, beneath all this, there *was* a difference between his doctrine and that of Bernard, which may well have appeared to the latter fundamental and threatening.

Bernard founded his theology, as I have said, on authority, of the Scriptures, and of the consenting con-

[1] Ainsi qu'il arrive toujours, on s'en prit d'abord aux disciples d'Abélard. Ils étaient présomptueux et insolents : on les accusa d'exagérer la doctrine de leur maître ; puis, on les soupçonna de la révéler, et on lui en demanda compte.

Rémusat adds the substance of a kind letter to Abélard from Walter of Laon, a famous professor of theology, who had himself taught at St. Geneviève, in which "il se plaint au maître de l'outrecuidance de ses élèves ; il ne peut croire qu'ils disent vrai en prétendant que leur professeur donne la pleine intelligence de la nature de Dieu, et ramène à une clarté parfaite le dogme de la Trinité. . . . Il le prie de lui écrire positivement son avis sur quelques points délicats de théologie; etc. — *Vie d'Abélard*, tom i. pp. 179–180.

sciousness of the Church interpreting the Scriptures, with the inward witness of spiritual experience. He was a reverent and an affirmative mystic. Abélard based his system substantially upon reason, and the careful philosophical analysis and defence of what the Scriptures declare. He has been called, not improperly perhaps, by so acute and dispassionate a critic as Cousin, "the father of modern rationalism."[1] In his position among his contemporaries, and in something of his spirit, Rémusat suggests a parallel between him and Voltaire. As limited by Rémusat the comparison may not be wholly rejected, though in their opinions the two thus named together stood widely apart.[2] But the world of religion, as represented by Bernard, perhaps looked with hardly less fear on this brilliant innovator than did the church and the clergy of the time of Voltaire on his open and fierce assaults.

Faith, which to Bernard was a settled spiritual assurance in the soul, a Divine persuasion wrought by grace, even a direct prevision of the truth, to Abélard was a mental apprehension of the more probable among competing opinions. He had abundant confidence in the ability of the speculative understanding, without dependence on any special temper of desire and adora-

[1] On peut le regarder comme le père du rationalisme moderne. — COUSIN: *Hist. Gén. de la Philos.*, p. 227. Paris ed., 1837.

[2] Voltaire seul, peut-être, et sa situation dans le xviiie siècle, nous donneraient quelqu' image de ce que le xiie pensait d'Abélard. Ceux mêmes qui le blâmaient ou ne l'osaient défendre, l'appelaient *un philosophe admirable, un maître des plus célèbres dans la science.* . . . Un écrivain du temps emploie pour lui ce mot, qu'il invente peut-être, ce titre d'esprit *universel* qui semble avoir été précisément retrouvé pour Voltaire. . . . Ce ne fut pourtant pas un grand homme; ce ne fut pas même un grand philosophe; mais un esprit supérieur, d'une subtilité ingénieuse, un raisonneur inventif, un critique pénétrant, qui comprenait et exposait merveilleusement. — *Vie d'Abélard*, tom. i. pp. 270–273.

tion, to maintain and explain whatever should be received as the truth. Diligent inquiry was enough of itself to lead men to a substantive faith. He valued and encouraged doubt, as the condition of attaining, by larger endeavor, a clearer knowledge; quoting with approbation the saying of Aristotle that "it is not easy to assert a thing with confidence unless one has repeatedly examined the matter, and that therefore it is not without advantage to have doubted of everything." "For doubt," Abélard adds, "leads to inquiry, and by inquiry we arrive at truth; as the very Truth Himself has said, 'Seek, and ye shall find.'" "The Lord," he further says, "when, at the age of twelve years, instead of teaching he sate in the Temple and asked questions, would teach us by His example that we are also to learn by questioning."[1] It is evident at a glance how sharply such maxims, especially as seeking a support in the instruction and example of the Master, would clash with Bernard's conception of faith, as a grace divinely infused, spiritual in nature, decisive in affirmation, and sovereign in regency over thought as over life. It is unquestionably true of Abélard, as Neander has sharply pointed out, that "his theology took schism and doubt for its point of departure, and could never wholly repudiate its origin."[2] The union

[1] Hæc quippe prima sapientiæ clavis definitur; assidua scilicet seu frequens interrogatio; ad quam quidem toto desiderio arripiendam philosophus ille omnium perspicacissimus Aristoteles in prædicamento *ad aliquid* studiosos adhortatur. . . . Dubitando enim ad inquisitionem venimus; inquirendo veritatem percipimus; juxta quod et Veritas ipsa: Quærite, inquit, et invenietis, pulsate et aperietur vobis. Quæ nos etiam proprio exemplo moraliter instruens, circa duodecimum ætatis annum sedens et interrogans in medio doctorum inveniri voluit, *et seq.* — *Ouvrages Inédits*, Sic et Non, p. 16.

[2] Hist. of Christ. Relig. and Church, iv. 380.

of feeling with experience, responding to the declarations of Scripture, and supplying the absolute inward certitude concerning things unseen which naturally surpassed all vigor of opinion and was not subject to its decays, which in the common acceptation of the mystics was the foundation of holy hope, and of heavenly wisdom — this was practically supplanted in the scheme of Abélard by a fairly formulated intellectual conviction, succeeding the restless oscillations of doubt, and supporting itself on careful and valid human argument.

He did not hold very clearly or fully to any special Divine inspiration in evangelists and apostles, or of course in the ancient prophets, — to any inspiration which set them apart, for example, from the Church Fathers, or even from the higher class of heathen philosophers. He conceived that what was taught in the New Testament concerning faith, hope, charity, with the sacraments, was enough for salvation; that other things had been added, by both the Apostles and the Fathers, for amplification and ornament;[1] and that both apostles and prophets had been by no means free from error. As to the Fathers, whom the Church of that day unduly venerated, he did not hesitate to say that they had erred in many things, though he was ready to admit that they had not intentionally falsified in such things, but had fallen into sins of ignorance, or had purposed, in the impulse of charity, to subserve more fully than exact truth would warrant the interest of

[1] Sufficere autem saluti fortasse poterant ea quæ Evangelium de fide et spe et charitate seu sacramentis tradiderat, etiamsi Apostolica non addantur instituta, neque aliquæ sanctorum Patrum disciplinæ vel dispensationes, ut sunt canones, etc. . . . Voluit tamen Dominus et ab apostolis et a sanctis Patribus quædam superaddi præcepta vel dispensationes, quibus adornetur vel amplificetur Ecclesia, vel ut civitas sua, vel ipsa civium suorum tutius muniatur incolumitas. — *Opera*, Prol. in Epist. ad Rom. ii. 154.

others.[1] He practically exalted the heathen philosophers above the Church Fathers, maintaining that in life and doctrine they had reached in effect Apostolical perfection, were far above the Jews, and were but little removed, if at all, from the religion of Christ. The morality of the Gospel had been only a reformation of the law of nature, which these philosophers had found out and followed;[2] and with scornful severity he set beside them the bishops and Christian teachers of his time, who filled their houses with jesters, dancers, singers of obscene songs, devoting to these the alms given by the poor; who indeed introduced a scenic base-

[1] Constat vero et prophetas ipsos quandoque prophetiæ gratia caruisse, et nonnulla ex usu prophetandi, cum se spiritum prophetiæ habere crederent, per spiritum suum falsa protulisse; et hoc eis ad humilitatis custodiam permissum esse, *et seq.* . . . Quid itaque mirum, cum ipsos etiam prophetas et apostolos ab errore non penitus fuisse constat alienos, si in tam multiplici sanctorum patrum scriptura nonnulla propter suprapositam causam erronee prolata seu scripta videantur? Sed nec tamquam mendacii reos argui sanctos convenit, si nonnulla quandoque aliter quam se rei veritas habeat, arbitrantes, non per duplicitatem, sed per ignorantiam dicant; nec præsumptioni vel peccato imputandum est quidquid ex caritate ad aliquam ædificationem dicitur, cum apud dominum omnia discuti juxta intentionem constet. — *Ouvrages Inéd.*, Prol. in Sic et Non, p. 11.

[2] Quod si post fidem ac moralem doctrinam philosophorum finemque seu intentionem recte vivendi ab eis assignatum, vitam quoque ipsorum inspiciamus, et quam diligenter reipublicæ statum instituerint, atque ipsorum civium simulque conviventium vitam ordinaverint, reperiemus ipsorum tam vitam, quam doctrinam maxime evangelicam seu apostolicam perfectionem exprimere, et a religione Christiana eos nihil aut parum recedere, quod nobis tam rationibus morum, quam nomine ipso juncti reperiuntur; nomine quidem, cum nos a vera sophia, hoc est sapientia Dei Patris, quæ Christus est. . . . Si enim diligenter moralia evangelii præcepta consideremus, nihil ea aliud quam reformationem legis naturalis inveniemus, quam secutos esse philosophos constat. . . . Unde cum tanta, ut dictum est, evangelicæ ac philosophicæ doctrinæ concordia pateat, nonnulli Platonicorum, in tantam proruperunt blasphemiam, ut Dominum Jesum omnes suas sententias a Platone accepisse dicerent. — *Theol. Christ.*, lib. ii.; Opera, ii. 414.

ness into the Church of God, while Plato in his austerity had banished even poets from the Republic.[1] He declared the ancient philosophical virtue to be in this true and superior, that it did not regard earthly advantage or loss as that of the Jews did, or even future rewards and punishments, but was inspired by that love of good which belongs to the divinely constituted nature of man; and he seems not to have doubted that God had recognized and recompensed this virtue of the heathen by sometimes bestowing upon them the power of miracles, as in the instance, which he cites, of the Emperor Vespasian.[2] He believed that God had also communicated to them the higher knowledge of Himself which they had allegorically taught; and that their so-called Soul of the World was in fact nothing else than the Holy Ghost of the New Testament.[3]

[1] Quid ergo episcopi et religionis Christianæ doctores poetas a civitate Dei non arcent, quos a civitate sæculi Plato inhibuit? Immo quid in solemnibus magnarum festivitatum diebus, quæ penitus in laudibus Dei expendi debent, joculatores, saltatores, incantatores, cantatores turpium acciunt ad mensam, totam diem et noctem cum illis feriant, atque sabbatizant, magnis postmodum eos remunerant præmiis, quæ de ecclesiasticis rapiunt beneficiis, de oblationibus pauperum, ut immolent certe dæmoniis? . . . Parum fortassis et hoc diabolus reputat quod extra sacra loca basilicarum gerunt, nisi etiam scenicas turpitudines in ecclesiam Dei introducat. — *Theol. Christ.*, lib. ii. ; Opera, ii. 445–446.

[2] Non secundum servitutem Judaicam, ex timore pœnarum et ambitione terrenorum, non ex desiderio æternorum, nobis plurimum philosophos certum est assentire ; quibus, ut diximus, et fides Trinitatis revelata est, et ab ipsis prædicata, et spes immortalis animæ et æternæ retributionis expectata, pro qua mundum penitus contemnere, et terrenis omnibus abrenuntiare, et seipsos dura macerare inedia non dubitaverunt, ponentes nobiscum amorem Dei finem et causam omnium. . . . De cujus etiam patre Vespasiano quam mirabile sit illud quod in eodem Suetonius præmittit, et quam accepta Deo opera ejus ipsa miraculorum dona testentur, quis non intelligat? — *Theol. Christ.*, lib. ii. ; Opera, ii. 414, 438.

[3] Nunc autem illa Platonis verba de anima mundi diligenter discutiamus, ut in eis Spiritum sanctum integerrime designatum esse agnoscamus. — *Ibid.* ii. 379.

In sharp contrast with his frequent and eloquent eulogiums on the heathen philosophers, Abélard compiled a collection of the sayings of the venerated Church Fathers on various subjects of faith and morals, arranging them under more than a hundred and fifty heads, and giving to the collection the striking title of "Sic et Non," or "So, and Not so;" and thus he again gave immense offence to the common religious thought of his time. It seems to have been a work intended for controversial purposes, as Rémusat suggests, rather than for the direct encouragement of a sceptical spirit;[1] yet it must have had a decided influence in the latter direction. The sayings of the Fathers were presented in direct, and often in flagrant contradiction to one another; and the lesson deduced was, in substance, "Thus you see how absurd it is for one man to set himself up as the judge of another! In all these things leave Him to judge who alone knoweth all things, and who can read the thoughts of men." It was his ingenious and elaborate way of either forestalling attacks upon himself, or of making to such his primary answer. It was a fair method of controversy, and the extracts cited by him show diligent reading, with a memory of remarkable exactness and range.

But now the question which concerns us is, not, How far are we in accord with the views of Abélard, or with the general trend of his discussion? but, How did it look to the eyes of Bernard,— himself the last of the Christian Fathers; who was not trying to find his way, by means of doubt, out of denial, into a more or less confident conclusion, but to whom the majestic and tender Chris-

[1] On se tromperait cependant, si l'on y cherchait un recueil d'antinomies destiné à établir le doute en matière de religion : c'est un ouvrage consacré à la controverse plutôt qu'au scepticisme. — *Vie d'Abélard*, i. 169.

tian Faith was as certain as life, and almost as directly affirmed by conciousness, and who longed to have that holy Faith, on which his entire experience and hope securely rested, become universal? to him who found in that Faith the radiant and inestimable bond, woven at once of miracle and of sacrifice, by which the Almighty was to draw back the world to His fellowship and His face? We are not left in doubt as to the answer. "He lifts his head to heaven," he says of Abélard, "examines the lofty things of God, and returns to report to us the ineffable words which it were not lawful for a man to utter; and while he is ready to render a reason for all things, even for those which are above reason, he is presuming against both reason and faith; since what can be more contrary to reason than to undertake to transcend it by itself? and what more contrary to faith than to be unwilling to believe what we cannot by reason attain?"[1] "At the very outset of his theology, or fool-ology [vel potius Stultilogiæ]" he says, "Abélard defines faith as opinion, an estimate of truth. As if one were at liberty to think and to say whatever he pleases about matters of faith; as if the sacraments of our faith were suspended uncertainly, on vague and various human opinions, and were not rather established on certain truth. If faith wavers, is not our hope also an empty one? Then were our martyrs foolish, sustaining such tortures for things uncertain; not hesitating to pass through a painful death, into eternal exile, for a doubtful reward! Far be it from us to think, as this man does, that anything in our faith or

[1] Quid enim magis contra rationem, quam ratione rationem conari transcendere? Et quid magis contra fidem, quam credere nolle, quidquid non possit ratione attingere? — *Opera*, epist. ad Innocent. II. vol. i. col. 1442.

hope is left suspended on a doubtful opinion, and is not rather founded altogether on the certain and solid truth, Divinely attested by oracles and miracles, established and consecrated by the child-birth of the Virgin, by the blood of the Redeemer, by the splendor of His Resurrection. These testimonies are too credible for doubt. But if even they were at all less certain, the Spirit Himself beareth witness with our spirit that we are the sons of God. How, then, can any one dare to say that faith is opinion; unless he is one who has not yet received the Spirit, or who ignores the Gospel, or thinks it a fable? . . . There are opinions enough among these logicians, whose business it is to doubt all things, and know nothing. Faith is the substance of things hoped for, not the fantasy of empty conjectures. Observe that word 'substance.' It is not lawful to think or dispute as one pleases about the Faith, nor to wander hither and thither amid the foolishness of opinions, or in the devious ways of error. By that word 'substance' something sure and established is set before you; you are enclosed within certain boundaries, restrained within fixed limits. For faith is not an opinion; it is a certitude."[1]

Whether Bernard in writing these sentences conceived and represented with entire correctness the position of his opponent, is not, I think, certain. That he was wholly sincere in writing them I have no question. In antagonism, therefore, not of spirit alone, but of the prime principles of his ethical and doctrinal system, he felt himself compelled to stand toward the innovating Breton; and yet more distinctly, if that were possible, on particular points of philosophy or theology which to both were important. I cannot of course set

[1] Opera, Tract. Con. Error. Abél. [epist. ad Inno.], vol. i. coll. 1449–50.

these fully before you, but some of them may be indicated,— enough, perhaps, to show how it was that Bernard was at last pushed, reluctantly, but with characteristic energy and fervor, to face Abélard, and force his public condemnation.

Philosophically, the differences between them were actual and wide, though it does not appear that the mind of Bernard was sharply or painfully impressed by these until they emerged in theological divergence. It would be wholly unjust to him to say that he was averse to all philosophizing on the truth of Religion. He did not quarrel with it in the least as illustrated in Anselm, who as a reasoner had been as active as Abélard, while more acute, and far more profound. In fact, Bernard, like all the mystics, had his own philosophy of sacred things, by which he adjusted their mysteries to his mind, and set their elements in a certain intellectual harmony with each other. It was a philosophy which founded itself on intimate facts in the experience of devout souls; which gave the highest place in thought to the spiritual intuition of God; and which recognized the essential greatness of man, not in any capacity to find God for himself, but in the capacity to receive from God instruction and grace for the vision and peace of the soul. His science of Divine things was a vital one, though he would by no means have given it that name, and though his spirit was so eminently practical and so earnestly devout that dialectical exercise had for him little attraction.

But Bernard was a realist, as Augustine had been, who had taken the doctrine from Plato, and had handed it on to those upon whom his influence came. And the doctrine is familiar, or is easily apprehended. According to it, the essence of things is that in them which is

permanent and distinctive. These essences are the archetypal Divine Ideas, and they constitute the whole of real Being, all things which exist having reality as partaking in them, and things objective being their partial, imperfect copies. The idea — as of color, tree, cloud, man — is the persistent and invariable element, forming the basis of the sensible mutable phenomena. The Universe itself is only the outward formal expression of these ideas, and of Him in whom they eternally exist. In apprehending them, through the impression made on the senses which give token of them, man, as a cognizant spirit, becomes in his measure assimilated to them, and at last finds God, who is the supreme object of science.

The universals have thus an independent existence, apart from individual objects which they precede. "Universalia ante rem," is the motto of the scheme. Or, as modified by Aristotle, according to whom the universals, though real, exist only in individuals which the species precedes, "Universalia *in* re," is the proper maxim. General terms are not arbitrary signs, but the names of these archetypal ideas, representing the inmost essences of things. Virtue is a reality, not a name. The triangle exists, independently of any delineation; and man is man simply because the generic humanity is set forth in him. Justice, Veracity, Benevolence, are not collective terms to describe certain qualities, but vital essences, eternal as God. This was the general speculative scheme which had attracted reflective and systematizing minds for many generations, and which commonly prevailed in the time of Bernard. Its poetical and reverent quality, its apparent combination of grandeur with simplicity, would naturally commend it to minds like his, while its seem-

ingly auxiliary relation to certain great doctrines which he held, as of Original Sin, of Redemption by Christ, even of the constitution of the Church, could hardly fail to give it in his eyes a radical and momentous significance. Humanity to him was a universal essence, present in all men, and constituting the vital reality of their being. It was this which had sinned and suffered in the Fall. It was this which Christ had assumed in Incarnation, and on which His Redemption had taken effect. It was this Humanity, essentially purified and exalted, which made the Church lovely and mighty, and which at last, filling the earth, was to realize the vision of ancient seers. This was his view of things.

But early in the twelfth century a contrary philosophical doctrine began to be taught, not for the first time, but more earnestly and widely than before, according to which, as taught for example by Roscellinus, only individual things have real existence, and what are called universals are but convenient comprehensive names by which to describe classes of things. They are mental abstractions, not veritable essences; helps to the understanding, but having no independent existence. In a word, they are "Nomina, non res," from whence the term "Nominalism" has come to describe this mode and school of thought. Roscellinus, as I have said, did not hesitate to apply his favorite theory to the doctrine of the Divine Trinity, and to maintain that as only individuals exist, the three persons of the Godhead are three separate subsistences, morally united, whom only custom and prejudice prevent men from so describing.[1] He was compelled to retract this by the

[1] Abélard's account of it is: "Alter quoque totidem erroribus involutus, tres in Deo proprietates, secundum quas tres distinguuntur personæ,

council of Soissons, but he still held and taught the philosophical doctrine from which his conclusion had been derived; and Abélard in part, though with important modifications, followed him in it.

This eager thinker and confident logician had never held himself concluded by the authority of Augustine, even on matters of religious doctrine. "No matter what Augustine says," he says in effect, in treating of the nature of Christ, "we affirm that as the Lord assumed a true human nature he took with it all the real defects of human infirmity."[1] He did not hesitate to balance his mind against that of the great Numidian, even on a point like this; and certainly on a question of philosophy he would only accept his own acute affirmative thought. He honored Aristotle, though he knew but a small part of his writings, and these not of the first importance. It was after his time that the Stagyrite came to be familiarly studied. He knew Plato only through quotations of others, as of Cicero, Augustine, Boëthius. But he was not wholly at one with Roscellinus in philosophical thought, any more than with the realists. He agreed with him that in individuals alone is essential being; but he maintained at the same time that what are called universals have a

tres essentias diversas ab ipsis personis et ab ipsa divinitatis natura constituit," *et al.* — *Opera*, Introd. ad Theol., ii. 84.

A letter of Anselm of Canterbury gives the same account: "Audio, quod tamen absque dubietate credere non possum, quia Roscellinus clericus dicit in Deo tres personas esse tres res ab invicem separatas, sicut sunt tres angeli, et tres Deos vere posse dici si usus admitteret." Roscellinus had even claimed that Lanfranc before, and Anselm then, were of the same opinion. See Opera Abél., i. 51, note.

[1] Sed dicat Augustinus voluntatem suam, nos vero dicimus, quia, sicut veram humanitatem assumsit, ita humanæ infirmitatis veros defectus habuerit. — *Opera*, Epit. Theol. Christ., tom. ii. p. 573.

real existence, though only in the knowledge of God, and in responsive conceptions of the human mind. In this he agreed with that form of the modern philosophy which affirms that the cognitive faculty in man does not act through the senses alone, or through the imagination; that man has an essential faculty of pure thought, by which he forms and must form general ideas, — which are not mere articulated breath, nor on the other hand independent substantive entities; which are existing and necessary intellectual concepts, apprehending general attributes and relations. To this form of philosophy the name Conceptualism is commonly applied. It approaches Nominalism, no doubt, more nearly than Realism, but it differs from both; and in his relation to it Abélard deserves, if at all, the eulogies which Cousin has pronounced upon him in his relation to mediæval philosophy.[1] Through this he stands in most direct touch with reflective minds, considering man in his mental relation to the order of the universe, in modern time.

Of course this differed from Bernard's philosophy, but I do not imagine that on this account alone the abbot of Clairvaux and the practised dialectician would ever have come into personal encounter. Bernard would, very likely, have dreaded and deplored the self-asserting logical tendency which in his view must limit

[1] Abélard embrassa les différents points de vue de ses devanciers et les agrandit encore. . . . La solution qu'il en a donnée, élevée à sa formule la plus générale, a reçu un nom qui témoigne assez de son caractère essentiel, un nom psychologique et dialectique en quelque sorte, le conceptualisme. . . . Abélard résume cette polémique et couronne cette époque. — *Ouvrages Inéd.*, Introd., pp. clxxviii., cciii.

Abélard est le principal auteur de cette introduction [de la dialectique dans la théologie]; il est donc le principal fondateur de la philosophie du moyen âge. — *Ibid.*, p. iv.

the culture of piety, and over which the consent of the past exerted no practical control. But, with his mind constantly occupied in different directions, he would hardly have become deeply engaged in these contests within the schools, or have taken in them an absorbing interest. It was only when Abélard essayed to touch with the daring spear-point of his dialectic the mysteries of the Faith that Bernard's antagonism was energetically aroused. Of Abélard's treatment of these, Michelet, by no means a bigoted theologian, says bluntly; "The bold young man simplified, explained, humanized everything. He suffered scarcely anything of the hidden and the Divine to remain in the most commanding mysteries. It seemed as if the Church till that time had been stammering, while Abélard spoke out. All became smooth and easy; he treated religion politely, he handled her gently, but she melted away under his hands. Nothing embarrassed this brilliant talker; he reduced religion to philosophy, morality to humanity. 'Crime is not in the act,' he says, 'but in the intention.' Thus there are no sins of ignorance or of habit. 'Those even who crucified the Lord, without knowing that he was the Saviour, did not sin.' What then is original sin? 'Less a sin than a punishment,' he declares. But why then the Redemption by the Passion, if there had been no sin? 'It was an act of pure love. God wished to substitute the law of love for that of fear.' Thus man was no longer blameworthy, the flesh was justified, rehabilitated; all the sufferings by which men had immolated themselves had been superfluous. What became of so many voluntary martyrs, so many fasts and macerations, of the vigils of monks, the tribulations of hermits, of all the tears poured out toward God? Vanity, delusion! God was an amiable and

easy God, who had nothing to do with anything of that sort." [1]

I do not affirm that this vigorous summary by the historian of the opinions of Abélard, with the trend of those opinions, may not need to be somewhat shaded or limited, but that it fairly represents the impression left by the fascinating lecturer on the thought of his time seems to me beyond question; and that the particular propositions cited are to be found in his writings is demonstrably certain. That he located the moral character of an action in the intention with which it is done is abundantly evident from the "Scito teipsum," and from other of his writings.[2] He considered the opposition between reason and the suggestions of sense to be one which belonged to the human organization, and the following conflict to be a condition of true vir-

[1] Hist. de France, tom. ii. pp. 283–286. Paris ed., 1835.

[2] "Desiderium ille reprimit, non extinguit; sed quia non trahitur ad consensum, non incurrit peccatum. . . . Non enim quæ fiant, sed quo animo fiant, pensat Deus; nec in opere sed in intentione meritum operantis, vel laus consistit. . . . 'Habe,' inquit Augustinus, 'charitatem, et fac quidquid vis.' . . . Bonam quippe intentionem, hoc est, rectam in se dicimus; operationem vero, non quod boni aliquid in se suscipiat, sed quod ex bona intentione procedat. Unde et ab eodem homine cum in diversis temporibus idem fiat, pro diversitate tamen intentionis ejus operatio modo bona, modo mala dicitur, et ita circa bonum et malum variari videtur. . . . Si intentio recta fuerit, tota massa operum inde provenientium, quæ more corporalium rerum videri possit, erit luce digna, hoc est bona; sic e contrario. . . . Proprie tamen peccatum illud dici arbitror, quod nusquam sine culpa contingere potest. Ignorare vero Deum, vel non ei credere, vel opera ipsa quæ non recte fiunt, multis sine culpa possunt accidere." Concerning those who persecuted the martyrs, or who crucified the Lord, he says frankly: "Profecto secundum hoc quod superius peccatum esse descripsimus contemptum Dei, vel consentire in eo, in quod credit consentiendum non esse, non possumus dicere eos in hoc peccasse, nec ignorantiam cujusquam, vel ipsam etiam infidelitatem, cum qua nemo salvari potest, peccatum esse." — *Opera*, tom. ii. pp. 599, 604, 608, 614–615, 618.

tue. The motion of desire in a man was not sinful, even toward that which it would be criminal for him to seek; only the consent of the will to the desire held in it the element of sin; so that the fiercest lusts, if not accepted by the will, simply augmented human virtue. Sin, in his view, consisted in refusing to do what a man himself believes to be the will of God, since God is injured by such contempt of Himself, but not by any external action. Of course on this scheme there could be no proper condemnation of those whose consciences had not been enlightened, and ignorance of Divine things might not unnaturally seem to many to be practically represented as man's safeguard and privilege. He did not hesitate to apply his principle to those who had inflicted cruel death on the martyrs, or had crucified the Lord; and this of course cut with sharpest edge across the tenderest and the stubbornest prejudice of the time. He seemed an apologist for Pilate and the Jews.

Original sin he treats, as in his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, as not sin in any proper sense, but a certain penal consequence of sin, which had come upon all men because it was the pleasure of God that it should, whose pleasure is the supreme rule of right.[1]

[1] Cum itaque dicimus homines cum originali peccato procreari et nasci, atque hoc ipsum originale peccatum ex primo parente contrahere; magis hoc ad pœnam peccati, cui videlicet pœnæ obnoxii tenemur, quam ad culpam animi et contemptum Dei, referendum videtur. Qui enim nondum libero uti arbitrio potest, nec ullum adhuc rationis exercitium habet, qua Deum recognoscat auctorem, vel obedientiæ mereatur præceptum, nulla est ei transgressio, nulla negligentia imputanda, nec ullum omnino meritum quo præmio vel pœna dignus sit, magis quam bestiis ipsis, quando in aliquo vel nocere vel juvare videntur. . . . Hac quidem ratione profiteor, quoquomodo Deus creaturam suam tractare velit, nullius injuriæ potest argui. Nec malum aliquomodo potest dici, quod juxta ejus voluntatem fiat. Non enim aliter bonum a malo discernere possumus, nisi quod ejus est consen-

The idea of any fall of human nature in Adam was one which lay wholly outside his circle of thought. He maintained that God had been united with humanity in Christ, as He had been united with it before in prophets and holy men, only that what in them had been partial and transient, in the Lord had been continuous and complete; and he brought into unwonted clearness of exhibition the true human nature in Christ, with its deep sensibility to sadness and the fear of death, and with that inherent possibility of sinning which he conceived to belong by its nature to free will.[1] The purpose of the Incarnation had been to impart to men sweetness and light by the instruction of Christ, and to quicken their souls by the contact with them of this Divine temper.[2] His theory of the Atonement was, as I have said, that it was needed and intended to enkindle in us such love toward God as should effectually

taneum voluntati, et in placito ejus consistit. — *Opera*, In Epist. ad Roman., tom. ii. pp. 238, 241.

[1] At vero si simpliciter dicitur hominem illum, qui unitus est, nullo modo peccare posse, potest quilibet ambigere. Si enim penitus peccare non potest, aut male facere, quod meritum habet, cavendo peccatum quod nullo modo potest committere, aut quomodo etiam cavere id dicitur quod nullatenus incurrere potest? . . . Et hoc quidem ad liberum hominis arbitrium pertinet, ut in ejus sit potestate agere bene et male. Quod si Christus non habuit, libero videtur privatus arbitrio, et necessitate potius quam voluntate peccatum cavere, ut ex natura potius quam ex gratia id habere. — *Opera*, In Epist. ad Roman., tom. ii. p. 193.

[2] Verbum Dei veniens verbum abbreviatum fecit super terram. Multa Moyses locutus est, et tamen, ut ait Apostolus, "nihil ad perfectum adduxit lex." Paucis Christus de ædificatione morum et sanctitate vitæ apostolos instruxit, et perfectionem docuit. Austera removens et gravia, suavia præcepit et levia, quibus omnem consummavit religionem. — *Evist.* viii.; Opera, i. 193.

"Ad ostensionem suæ justitiæ," id est caritatis, quæ nos, ut dictum est, apud eum justificat, id est, ad exhibendam nobis suam dilectionem, vel ad insinuandam nobis quantum eum diligere debeamus, qui proprio Filio suo non pepercit pro nobis. — *Opera*, In Epist. ad Roman., tom. ii. p. 204.

incline us to do His will, and make us ready for suffering and service in His cause, — Justification being the righteousness of spirit begotten in men by the power of this indwelling love.[1] In this he differed equally of course from Bernard and from Anselm, and was perhaps the first conspicuous advocate in modern time, as I have indicated in a previous lecture, of what has since been commonly known as the moral theory of the Atonement.

Of the Trinity he taught that it was a necessary idea of reason, which the ancient philosophers had held, and that by the Father was represented the Divine power and majesty, by the Son the Divine wisdom, by the Holy Ghost the Divine benignity and love. He did not distinctly deny the recognized personal distinctions between them, but he emphatically affirmed that the entire mystery could be understood by men in this life, or be set in line with familiar analogies; and he employed more than once the construction of the royal seal to elucidate the doctrine. The brass material is the substance of the seal, but the image upon it is also essential to it ; and when it is used in the act of sealing

[1] Nobis autem videtur quod in hoc justificati sumus in sanguine Christi, et Deo reconciliati, quod per hanc singularem gratiam nobis exhibitam, quod Filius suus nostram susceperit naturam, et in ipso nos tam verbo quam exemplo instituendo usque ad mortem perstitit, nos sibi amplius per amorem astrinxit ; ut tanto divinæ gratiæ accensi beneficio, nil jam tolerare propter ipsum vera reformidet caritas. . . . Redemptio itaque nostra est illa summa in nobis per passionem Christi dilectio, quæ nos non solum a servitute peccati liberat, sed veram nobis filiorum Dei libertatem acquirit ; ut amore ejus potius quam timore cuncta impleamus, qui nobis tantam exhibuit gratiam, qua major inveniri, ipso attestante, non potest. . . . Sufficiat nos hoc de nostra justificatione, immo omnium, quæ in caritate consistit interposuisse, et antequam sacramenta suscipiantur sive nostra sive illorum. — *Opera*, In Epist. ad Roman., tom. ii. pp. 207, 209.

a third property, he says, becomes evident in it, — its fitness for fixing the image on the wax. So there is to him a certain trinity in the seal. "And if," he adds, "these things are applied in fitting proportions to the doctrine of the Divine Trinity, it is easy for us from the very writings of the philosophers to refute the false philosophers who assail us. For as the brazen seal is of the brass, and in a certain way is born of it, so the Son has His being of the substance of God the Father, and accordingly is said to be born of Him." [1] Another analogy or similitude in Nature is taken by him from the brilliance and warmth in the solar beam, — the Son being represented by the splendor, and the Spirit by the warmth of the ray; but this he regards as a less perfect image of the Divine mystery, since neither the splendor nor the heat can be properly said to be of the same substance with the sun, nor does the heat proceed at the same time from the sun and from its brilliance, as the Spirit does from the Father and the Son.[2] So the similitude derived from the same water in the fountain, in the stream, and in the pond, is not alto-

[1] Æs quidem est inter creaturas, in quo artifex operans et imaginis regiæ formam exprimens, regium facit sigillum, quod scilicet ad sigillandas literas, cum opus fuerit, ceræ imprimatur. Est igitur in sigillo illo ipsum æs materia, ex quo factum est; figura vero ipsa imaginis regiæ, forma ejus; ipsum vero sigillum ex his duobus materiatum atque formatum dicitur, quibus videlicet sibi convenientibus ipsum est compositum atque perfectum. . . . Cum autem per ipsum sigillari ceram contingit, jam in una æris substantia tria sunt proprietate diversa, æs videlicet ipsum, sigillabile et sigilans. . . . Quæ quidem omnia si ad divinæ Trinitatis doctrinam congruis proportionibus reducantur, facile est nobis, ex ipsis philosophorum documentis, pseudo-Philosophos qui nos infestant, refellere. Sicut enim ex ære sigillum est æreum, et ex ipso quodammodo generatur, ita ex ipsa Dei Patris substantia Filius habet esse, et secundum hoc ex ipso dicitur genitus. — *Opera*, Introd. ad Theol., ii. p. 97.

[2] Opera, Introd. ad Theol., tom. ii. p. 99.

gether acceptable to him,[1] while he returns again, in his commentary upon the Epistle to the Romans, to this image of the brazen seal or image as more satisfactory,[2] and in his treatise on Christian Theology takes the waxen seal itself, with the figure enstamped upon it, as representing the relation of the Father and the Son.[3]

It is at once apparent how foreign all this was from the moral habit and taste of Bernard, how utterly opposed to his profound and delicate feeling as to the proper handling of what to him were Divine mysteries; and when it came to pass that particular forms of statement set forth distinctly what he deemed pernicious and heretical doctrine, it could hardly be expected that he would passively acquiesce. He would no doubt have said of even the clearest delineation of truth in the cool precision of philosophical form, when unattended by appropriate fervor of feeling, that it was thought without unction, a picture without life. But when both the temper and the science of holiness seemed wanting, his entire nature was stirred to its depths in intense opposition. Abélard appeared to him to be seeking simply to exercise and exhibit his intellectual power in discussing the most sacred of truths, rudely dissecting them, and reducing them to the compass of the human understanding; while he, on the other hand, was intent, with all the force of his soul, on using such truths, in their heavenly majesty and superlative mystery, to inspire and cultivate piety in the heart. To the one the stupendous fact of Redemption, with its relations to the Divine Trinity, offered only the most tempting of themes for subtle speculation, hazardous illustration,

[1] Opera, Introd. ad Theol., tom. ii. p. 99.

[2] In Epist. ad Rom. pp. 173–174. [3] Theol. Christ., p. 525–527.

and a resolvent analysis. To the other, it was a celestial evangel, dear as Immortality, vaster than the heavens, tender as God.

Nor was it Abélard alone who was treating in this way sacred themes in the schools. That might, perhaps, have been silently borne. But his disciples were going every-whither, with the rash boldness of men impressed with novel ideas, and were distributing these in forms which their master would very likely not have approved; and their declarations were coming to be widely discussed, with ignorant self-confidence, by men and women unlearned, unreflective, and morally unprepared for any high ranges of spiritual thought. As Bernard wrote to one of the cardinals, Abélard was discussing with boys, conversing with women, about these subjects; he was not approaching alone, as Moses did, to the cloudy darkness in which God dwelt, but he moved thither attended by a mob of disciples. In villages and streets disputation was going on about the child-birth of the Virgin, about the sacrament of the altar, about the incomprehensible mystery of the Divine Trinity.[1] It is easy to see how all this must have jarred on his believing and reverent spirit, what sharp repellence it must

[1] Habemus in Francia monachum sine regula, sine sollicitudine prælatum, sine disciplina abbatem, Petrum Abælardum, disputantem cum pueris, conversantem cum mulieribus. . . . Accedit non solus, sicut Moyses, ad caliginem in qua erat Deus, sed cum turba multa et discipulis suis. Per vicos et plateas de fide Catholica disputatur, de partu Virginis, de Sacramento altaris, de incomprehensibili sanctæ Trinitatis mysterio. — *Opera*, epist. cccxxxii., vol. i. col. 623.

In the letter to the Pope, written by Bernard on behalf of the French Bishops, he speaks yet more strongly: "Itaque cum per totam fere Galliam in civitatibus, vicis, et castellis, a scholaribus, non solum intra scholas, sed etiam triviatim; nec a literatis, aut provectis tantum, sed a pueris et simplicibus, aut certe stultis, de sancta Trinitate, quæ Deus est, disputaretur; etc." — *Opera*, epist. cccxxxvii., vol. i. col. 628.

have inspired toward him to whom he seemed constrained to attribute it. It was almost as if the Crucified and the Crowned had been subjected again to derisive inquisition by the turbulent populace; as if the heavenly water of life were being dashed heedlessly about among defiled and broken earthly pitchers, to be itself defiled and spilled. Not in France alone was this going on; but the writings which gave the impulse to it had crossed seas and mountains, they were read in Italy as well as in France, in the Roman Court as well as in scattered schools and convents.[1] It was certainly a natural impulse with Bernard to try, if he could, to check the influence which seemed to him so vastly disastrous.

The entire spirit of restless inquisition into all things known and unknown, which appeared in Abélard, and perhaps more prominently in his disciples, was one with which the abbot of Clairvaux could have had little sympathy. It led afterwards, as we know, to the discussion of the most absurd questions, as "What would have happened if Adam had not been seduced by Eve?" "Whether the stars are animals?" "Why it is that plants can not grow in the fire?" "Why man has no horns on his forehead?" "What is the reason for putting the nose above the mouth in the human countenance?" with other questions of the sort.[2] Whether Bernard, with his intuitive and prophetic sensibility, anticipated any such extravagant exhibition of the curi-

[1] William of St. Thierry wrote of his books: "Petrus enim Abælardus iterum nova docet, nova scribit; et libri ejus transeunt maria, transiliunt Alpes; et novæ ejus sententiæ de fide, et nova dogmata per provincias et regna deferuntur, celebriter prædicantur, et libere defenduntur; in tantum ut in curia Romana dicantur habere auctoritatem." — *Opera S. Bern.*, vol. i. col. 615.

[2] See Ratisbonne, Hist. de S. Bernard, tom. ii. p. 9.

ous and questioning temper rising around him cannot be known, though it seems not impossible; but enough was already apparent to him to repel and to shock his practical, yet serious and contemplative spirit.

One takes, too, a certain impression of Abélard — it seems quite clear that Bernard felt it — that he did not utter all his thought; that he was so far restrained by the Church-limitations which it was not safe altogether to transgress, as to practise economy in the statement of opinion, and that his principles really involved more radical conclusions than he announced. The tendency of his teaching undoubtedly was to loosen men from a sense of dependence on the sacraments of the Church, as the channels and instruments of that gracious operation which united men to God; and Arnauld of Brescia, who had probably been his pupil, who was certainly his ardent and out-spoken friend, had become the vehement assailant in Italy, not only of the vices and misrule of the clergy, in which Bernard must have sympathized with him, but of the whole papal system as connected with the State, and of the objective validity of the sacraments themselves. His discourses had aroused a prodigious excitement at Rome, and in the provinces; many had come to be arrayed in fierce hostility against the Church; and after he had been expelled from the country, to find a transient refuge at Zurich, the disturbances had continued, till the very fabric of the papacy seemed endangered.[1]

[1] Arnauld, it will be remembered, suffered martyrdom at Rome A. D. 1155, being then about fifty years old. In A. D. 1882 a bronze statue was erected to him at Brescia in Lombardy, his native city, and a mural tablet in his honor was erected by the municipality of Rome in the Piazza del Popolo, where his body had been burned, and from which the ashes had been taken to be thrown into the Tiber.

It was therefore to be expected that the opposition to Abélard which had already been vigorously shown by Norbert of Prémontré, by William of Champeaux — who had really saved the life of Bernard — and by Walter of St. Victor, a temperate, intelligent, and conciliatory man,[1] should also at length be shown by Bernard, and with more conclusive and crushing force. Theirs was not an individual controversy. The men represented colliding tendencies. Two systems, two ages, came into shattering conflict in their persons. It was heart against head; a fervent sanctity against the critical and rationalizing temper; an adoring faith in mysterious truths, believed to have been announced by God, against the dissolving and destructive analysis which would force those truths into subjection to the human understanding. It was the whole series of the Church Fathers, fitly and signally represented by Bernard, against recent thinkers who questioned everything, who refused to be bound by any authority, who valued Aristotle as superior to Augustine, who regarded sybils and poets as at least equally with the prophets inspired heralds of Christ,[2] and who were really antici-

[1] Of his letter to Abélard, the substance of which as well as of the reply to it is given in the "Hist. Littéraire," vol. xiii., p. 514, Rémusat says: "Cette lettre mesurée et encore bienveillante est un modèle du ton que la controverse aurait dû toujours conserver; mais cet exemple ne fut guère imité. — *Vie d'Abélard*, i. 180.

[2] At vero ne aliquis sexus inter homines sapientiæ fama ceteris præstantes fidei nostræ testimoniis desit, illa etiam famosa Sybilla inducatur, quæ divinitatem Verbi, nec humanitatem, nec utrùmque adventum, nec utrumque judicium Verbi describendo prætermisit; primum quidem judicium quo Christus injuste judicatus est in passione, et secundum quo juste judicaturus est mundum in majestate. . . . Hoc profecto Sybillæ vaticinium, ni fallor, maximus ille poetarum nostrorum Virgilius audierat atque attenderat, cum in quarta Ecloga futurum in proximo sub Augusto Cæsare, tempore consulatus Pollionis, mirabilem cujusdam pueri de cœlo ad terras

pating much which afterward came to be alleged, on deistical grounds, against Christianity. It was a case, too, where, if ever, "Obsta principiis" seemed an applicable maxim. If the rift in the wall could not be closed through which this noisy stream was breaking, who could set bounds to the overflow and the deluge which soon might arrive?

If Bernard had been a timid man he might have shrunk from such a contest with such a man. He did in fact shrink from it at first, saying in self-distrustful humility that he was but a youth, unpractised in dialectics, while Abélard was a warrior, exercised in them from early life; and he seems to have yielded only reluctantly, with many tears, to the urgency of his friends.[1] If he had sought his pleasant ease, he would certainly have avoided the formidable collision, have looked after his monks, and have pursued his quiet meditations. But being supremely devoted, as he was, to the service of the Master, in the maintenance of the truth which to him appeared supernal and divine, self-

mittendi, qui etiam peccata mundi tolleret, et quasi sæculum novum in mundo mirabiliter ordinaret, præcineret ortum, admonitus, ut ipsemet ait, Cumæni carminis vaticinio. . . . Quæ apertissimam de Incarnatione Filii Dei continent prophetiam, ipso fortassis poeta ignorante quid in Sybilla vel in eo Spiritus sanctus loqueretur. — *Opera*, Theol. Christ., tom. ii. 396–398.

See, also, Introd. ad Theol., ii. 56–7; epist. i. 142–143.

[1] Abnui, tum quia puer sum, et ille vir bellator ab adolescentia; tum quia judicarem indignum, rationem fidei humanis committi ratiunculis agitandam, quam tam certa ac stabili veritate constat esse subnixam. — *Opera*, epist. clxxxix. vol. i. col. 413.

Sed vocatus Abbas venire penitus recusavit, suum hoc non esse renuntians. Postea tamen magnorum virorum monitis flexus, ne videlicet ex ipsius absentia et scandalum populo, et cornua crescerent adversario, demum pergere acquievit, tristis quidem, nec sine lacrymis annuens, sicut in epistola ad papam Innocentium ipse testatur, in qua plenius lucidiusque negotium omne prosequitur. — *Opera*, Vita, i. lib. iii. vol. ii. col. 2199.

authenticated as the message of God while opulent in unspeakable blessings to man, and feeling himself summoned as by trumpets to the defence of that truth against the powerful and clamorous forces which were marshalled to assail it, he at last met the Breton; and it was as the contact of the irresistible bolt, driven through the air by sudden explosion, with the iron-braced target against which it smites; almost as the contact of the lightning with the oak.

William of St. Thierry, who was tenderly attached to Bernard, and who felt that his own life had been saved by him almost as by miracle, had had his attention called to two of the books of Abélard, — the "Introduction to Theology," and probably the "Christian Theology," — and on reading them had been painfully impressed by the novelties of statement, and the essential novelties of thought, which appeared in them. He was a devoutly religious man, well trained in theology, cautious and clear in his analysis of opinions; and he appears to have been previously fond of Abélard, as he intimates also that Bernard had been; but he found many things in these writings of the engaging and eloquent lecturer which excited his surprise, offended his judgment, and forced him to feel that the truth was being assailed in the house of its friends. He summed up his principal objections under thirteen heads, and sent them in an earnest letter to Bernard, addressed also to Geoffrey, the Bishop of Chartres, calling upon them, as being eminent and powerful in the Church, to withstand the new heresy.[1] Bernard's reply was cool

[1] In causa capitis, sive pes ille sit, sive manus, sive etiam oculus, non paveatis. Dilexi et ego eum, et diligere vellem, Deus testis est; sed in causa hac nemo unquam proximus mihi erit, vel amicus. — *Opera* S. Bern., epist. Guill. Ab., cccxxvi. vol. prim., col. 616.

and brief, promising to attend to the matter after the Easter solemnities which at the time engaged him, and then to meet and confer with William.[1] He seems certainly not to have been disposed to be hurried, even by the urgency of one whom he greatly esteemed, into any rash or sudden course. After a time, however, he took up the books, examined them for himself, and received the same impression from them which had before been expressed by William. He then sought a personal interview with Abélard, at which, according to Godfrey, his secretary, the latter promised amendment of whatever had been amiss in his writings, and agreed to submit them to the correction of Bernard.[2]

The interview of course terminated amicably; but when Abélard was released from the presence of his critic he again affirmed his former opinions, declared them to be orthodox, and possibly gave fresh diligence to extending them. Bernard then began to warn men against him, and as far as he could to withdraw his books from the hands of those who were moved to read them; and he wrote earnest letters to the Pope and the cardinals, protesting against what he regarded as novel, eccentric, and dangerous doctrines, and invoking aid to arrest their circulation.

Abélard was not one to shun public controversy; he was familiar with it, he even loved and sought it; and as a great synod was about to be assembled at Sens, the archi-episcopal city of a vast province, in which the

[1] Epist. cccxxvii., i. col. 617.

[2] Qui nimirum solita bonitate et benignitate desiderans errorum corrigi, non hominem confundi, secreta illum admonitione convenit. Cum quo etiam tam modeste, tamque rationabiliter egit, ut ille quoque compunctus ad ipsius arbitrium correcturum se promitteret universa. — *Opera*, Vita, i. lib. iii. vol. sec., col. 2199.

bishops of Troyes, Orléans, Chartres, Auxerre, Nevers, Meaux, and of Paris itself were only suffragans, — a Council at which the king was to be present, with a numerous concourse of prelates and nobles, — he wrote to the archbishop, claiming the privilege of appearing before it to vindicate his opinions. The archbishop readily consented, and Abélard invited his disciples to come, to be spectators and participants of his triumph.

Bernard, as I have said, had been at first wholly disinclined to accept the invitation, or rather the requisition, of the archbishop, and to meet the philosopher for personal debate. He was keenly conscious of his own want of practice in dialectical discussion, and was, besides, unwilling to have what he regarded as authoritative truth involved in the confusions, and exposed to the risks, of promiscuous debate. At last, however, finding that his hesitancy was only increasing the fame of his opponent, as well as encouraging his disciples, and giving *éclat* to his opinions, and mindful as he says of the words of the Scripture, "Do not premeditate what ye shall answer, for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall say," and of those other words, "The Lord is my helper, I will not fear what man can do to me,"[1] he answered the call of the metropolitan, and appeared at the Council.

The assembly was, as it had been known that it

[1] Cedens tamen (licet vix, ita ut flerem) consilio amicorum, qui videntes quomodo se quasi ad spectaculum omnes pararent, timebant ne de nostra absentia et scandalum populo, et cornua crescerent adversario; et quia error magis confirmaretur, cum non esset qui responderet aut contradiceret; occurri ad locum et diem, imparatus quidem et immunitus, nisi quod illud mente volvebam, "Nolite præmeditari, qualiter respondeatis; dabitur enim vobis in illa hora quid loquamini;" et illud, "Dominus mihi adjutor, non timebo quid faciat mihi homo." — *Opera*, epist. clxxxix. vol. prim., col. 413.

would be, unusually brilliant, large, and influential. The city of Sens — now a small town of twelve thousand inhabitants, not far from Fontainebleau, still surrounded in part by its ancient ramparts, and in which stands a superb cathedral not wholly finished when the Council met in June, A. D. 1140 — was full not only of men in high civil rank, but of bishops, abbots, masters of schools, learned clerks. The king was present; the archbishop of Rheims, with three of his suffragans. Perhaps no other assembly had been convened representing more of the learning of the time, of its trained mental and dialectical power, or of its real, though possibly its mistaken piety and zeal for the truth. It was an assembly, in the main, such as Abélard himself might well have chosen, as in fact he had chosen it, for his proper tribunal; and a not inconsiderable part of it was composed of his own avowed followers or secret friends.[1] They naturally expected from him, as did the Church-dignitaries, as did Bernard himself, the most daring and complete intellectual work of all his life, the most eloquent, effective, and commanding exhibition of what was peculiar in his opinions. They looked to see him skilfully and forcibly override opposition, as he so often had done in the schools, stimulating disciples, silencing dissenters, answering objections, and if not convincing those who opposed him, yet conquering even their applause; and in the assured expectation of this his friends already shared his triumph.

[1] Itaque præsente glorioso rege Francorum, Ludovico, cum Willelmo religioso Nivernis comite, domino quoque Remensi archiepiscopo, cum quibusdam suis suffraganeis episcopis, nobis etiam et suffraganeis nostris, exceptis Parisius et Nivernis, episcopis præsentibus, cum multis religiosis abbatibus et sapientibus, valdeque litteratis clericis, adfuit dominus abbas Claræ-Vallensis, adfuit magister Petrus cum fautoribus suis. — *Epist.* cccxxxvii. [Franciæ Episcoporum], Bernard's Opera, vol. prim., col. 629.

The result was an astonishment to all. Bernard began with no argument. He had collated passages from the writings of Abélard, seventeen in number, which he judged heretical and contrary to the faith of the Church, and he called for the reading of these, that Abélard might declare whether he recognized the passages as his own, and then might either retract or defend them. But the clerk had hardly begun to read when Abélard, to the universal surprise, standing midway in the aisle, commanded him to desist, protested that he would hear no further, and took an instant appeal to the Pope. He thereupon left the assembly. Bernard's amazement was not less than that of others. He earnestly assured Abélard that nothing of harm was intended to his person, that he might answer freely and in perfect security, that he would be heard with patience, and would not be checked or smitten by a premature sentence.[1] But nothing could detain the determined fugitive, and he abruptly left the Council. Bernard then insisted that even in his absence the scrutiny of his published opinions should proceed, and a judgment upon them should be pronounced, as otherwise no practical result would have been reached. On the following days, therefore, the various passages which had been cited were considered and discussed, and fourteen of them were condemned, especially those concerning the Trinity, the Divine Nature of Christ, His redemptive work, man's dependence on saving

[1] Sed et postea ab egregio illo Catholicæ fidei advocato monitus, ut vel jam sciens in personam suam nihil agendum, responderet tam libere, quam secure, audiendus tantum et ferendus in omni patientia, non sententia aliqua feriendus ; hoc quoque omnimodis recusavit. Nam et confessus est postea suis, ut aiunt, quod ea hora, maxima quidem ex parte memoria ejus turbata fuerit, ratio caligaverit, et interior fugerit sensus. — *Opera*, Vita, i. lib. iii. cap. 5, vol. sec., coll. 2199–2200.

grace, and the nature of sin as having its roots in the present intention. The report of the synod upon the matter was drawn up by Bernard, at the request of the bishops, and forwarded to Rome.[1] Energetic personal letters were also written by him to the Pope and to cardinals;[2] and the whole case was remitted to the papal decision.

No satisfactory account has ever been given of this unexpected action of Abélard. He had the most distinguished audience that he could ever hope to address; an audience more favorable to him, in the main, than he could expect to have afterward convened if he should now falter and fail. He was by far the most expert and veteran logician present, as well as the most practised and fascinating speaker, with the single exception of the abbot of Clairvaux; and on the themes which were there to be exhibited the abbot had had no experience like his own in public discussion. He had himself invited the contest, and had seemed to look to it with eager expectation. Until his final step was taken, it appeared as certain as almost any sequence in nature that he would at least fight a brilliant, gallant, and strenuous battle for his opinions, that he would dexterously explain and eloquently defend them, and would marshal all the resources of his learning to show that they were permissible, at least, in the judgment of the Fathers. He would thus have carried with him, beyond a doubt, the admiration and support of large numbers of his hearers; and even if at last condemned would have consoled himself and them with the reflection that he had done what he could for his own honor, and for the philosophy which he loved,

[1] Opera, epist. cccxxxvii. vol. prim., coll. 627–630.

[2] Opera, epist. cccxxx.–cccxxxv., *et al.*, coll. 620–632.

though at last overpowered by unintelligent votes, the predetermined weight of a prejudiced majority. On such a showing his prestige in the kingdom would have only been advanced. His followers would have felt more confident than ever that the Future was his, and that opposition to his influence was only for a time; and then he could have appealed to Rome, where he had many friends, and where there was in certain high quarters a settled jealousy of the power of Bernard, with a far clearer hope of success.[1] His refusal to plead at all before the synod gave the death-blow to his power. Of this refusal it may be that Rémusat gives the right explanation when he says that Abélard was at once imprudent and weak, rash in undertaking things, and easily carried off his balance, having no consistent courage for action, though he had a high spirit; and when he adds that with all in him which was fine and great he lacked the firmness and force of consecration.[2] Guizot adds to this the effect probably produced upon his mind by the sudden sense of the vast contrast be-

[1] Doch war der Papst nicht immer mit dem Reformationseifer Bernhards zufrieden. Die römischen Kardinäle sahen auch wohl mit eifersüchtigen Augen den Mönch an, von dem sich Fürsten, Bischöfe und selbst päpstliche Legaten leiten liessen. Der päpstliche Kanzler Haimerich hatte ihm daher den freundschaftlichen Rath ertheilt, "sich um die Angelegenheiten der Welt nicht mehr so viel bekümmern, weil dies einem Mönch nicht zieme." Es waren mehrere Angelegenheiten, welche ihm Ungnade am römischen Hofe zugezogen hatten. — *Der heil. Bern.*, ss. 37–38.

The letter of Haimerich, to which the xlviiith of Bernard replies, was written probably ten years before the Council of Sens [circa 1130], but the old jealousy had lost nothing of its activity in the interval.

[2] Mais nous savons qu'il était imprudent et affaibli, téméraire pour entreprendre et facile à émouvoir. "Il n'avait nulle audace pour l'action," dit un historien, "quoiqu'il en eût beaucoup dans l'esprit." . . . Cherchez en lui le chrétien, le penseur, le novateur, l'amant enfin ; vous trouverez toujours qu'il lui manque une grande chose, la fermeté du dévouement. — *Vie d'Abélard*, tom. i. pp. 208, 274.

tween Bernard, with his clear sense, his straight-forward piety, and his high character, and the artificial and rhetorical opponents whom Abélard had been wont to meet.[1] But whatever the reason for his unforeseen action, whether anything in himself, anything in the circumstances, or any apprehension of that unsearchable power which seemed to reside in the spirit of Bernard beneath the pale face and meagre form, there can be no doubt that Abélard went from the Council to the street on that June day a beaten and a broken man. Individual minds still felt, for long, the impress of his influence. His name became prominent again, in subsequent discussion, after he had left the earth; and, in its measure, it has continued to be so to our own time. But his wide and shining though already shaded and limited reign over the mind of contemporaneous France was finally ended, then and there.

In spite of all his influence at Rome, he was condemned by Innocent, with his writings, and silence was imposed upon him, while in accompanying mandates his books were ordered to be burned, and himself to be imprisoned in a convent. All this had been determined at Rome before he was able to reach the

[1] C'est un grand spectacle que cette attitude simple, pratique, décidée, que prend dès le début cet homme qui avait d'abord éludé le combat; spectacle d'autant plus beau que ce n'est point au nom du pouvoir de fait, et en vertu de la force dont il dispose, que Saint Bernard traite Abailard de la sorte. . . . Bernard n'est, comme Abailard, qu'un moine qui parle au nom de la vérité. . . . Si un savant débat se fût engagé, il eût retrouvé sans doute cette fécondité, cet éclat, cette souplesse d'argumentation qui avaient fait sa renommée. Le philosophe était profond, le dialecticien éminent, l'orateur éloquent; mais l'homme était faible, incertain dans sa volonté, plus arrogant qu'assuré dans sa science, au moins aussi vaniteux que convaincu, et son beau génie se troublait devant le sens droit et le caractère haut de son rival. — GUIZOT: *Abailard et Héloïse*, p. lxxv. Paris ed., 1853.

city,[1] and while he was still on his way thither. It was of course immensely unjust, — such a hasty decision of such an appeal, in the necessary absence of the appellant; but it shows, with emphasis, how wide and strong the prepossessions against him had come to be. When intelligence of the papal judgment reached him he was tarrying for a brief rest at Clugni, as a guest of the abbot, Peter the Venerable, being then upon his way toward Rome. Peter was one of the noblest of his time, sincerely orthodox, fervently devout, but full of a sweet Christian benignity which, more even than his high rank, and the power and wealth of his monastery, gave him influence in the Church, and indeed with all men. The rule of his life seems to have been that which he laid down in a noble letter written to Bernard on the subject of the differences, in practice and in feeling, which existed among convents of the different orders: "The Rule of Benedict is always subordinate to the law of charity."[2]

He received Abélard with affectionate courtesy, interceded for him with the Pope, secured even his reconciliation with Bernard, whom Abélard afterward speaks of as his friend,[3] and obtained permission from the

[1] July 16, A. D. 1140.

[2] Regula illa illius sancti Patris, ex illa sublimi, et generali charitatis Regula pendet, ex qua et in qua, juxta Veritatis verba, "universa lex pendet, et prophetæ." Quod si universa lex, tunc et illius Regulæ lex. Monachus ergo Regulam patris Benedicti profitens, tunc eam vere servat, quando in servatis vel mutatis quibuslibet ejus capitulis, charitatis legem ubique conservat. — *Opera Pet. Ven.*, epist., lib. iv., xvii. col. 331.

[3] Quod autem Capitula contra me scripta tali fine amicus noster concluserit, etc. — *Apologia seu Confessio*, Opera, ii. 722.

In his letter to the Pope on behalf of Abélard, Peter the Venerable says: "Ivit, rediit, cum domino Clarævallensi, mediante Cisterciensi, sopitis prioribus querelis se pacifice convenisse, reversus retulit. — *Opera Pet. Ven.*, epist., lib. iv., iv. col. 306.

Roman court to retain under his care the shattered old man, broken at last by long labors and many calamities. In that gentle and wealthy monastery, surrounded by those who had welcomed and who honored him, watched over with a loving solicitude by the benign and thoughtful abbot, and permitted again to use and enjoy the sacred offices from which for a time he had been debarred, the last two years of his harassed and disappointing life were peacefully passed.

It is not probable that he changed his opinions. He had always insisted that they were in essential harmony with the Catholic faith; and while he is careful in his "Apologia" to emphasize his convictions of that faith, and to call God to witness that he had intended to say nothing against it, he does not retract his previous words, but attributes many things said against him to malice or ignorance, and asks only that whatever in his writings may appear of doubtful meaning shall be interpreted in the spirit of charity.[1] He left his books as they were, erasing nothing; and if he then completed, as seems probable, his principal work on Dialectics, it shows his unextinguished expectation that his name would survive, that his influence would continue, and that coming ages would accept and applaud the doctrines which he had taught. But his habits were austere; his manner was humble; his reading was continual, at every opportunity; his silence was constant, except when appealed to for instruction by others; he was diligently observant of the sacraments, and of

[1] Sed sicut cætera contra me Capitula, ita et hoc quoque per malitiam vel ignorantiam prolatum est. . . . Charitatis quippe est opprobrium non accipere adversus proximum, et quæ dubia sunt, in meliorem partem interpretari, et illam semper Dominicæ pietatis sententiam attendere: "Nolite judicare, et non judicabimini." — *Opera Abél.*, tom. ii. pp. 722-723.

prayer. A more graphic and touching outline sketch of a patient, devout, and thoughtful old age, has hardly been written than that sent to Héloïse by Peter the Venerable after the death of Abélard, describing his last years in the convent, to which, as Peter says, a divine arrangement had sent this honored philosopher and servant of Christ, enriching the monastery with a gift more precious than of gold and topaz.[1] An immense lime-tree long stood in the grounds of the convent, under which, according to a persistent tradition, he whose sun was now fast descending in the west used to sit for hours, silently meditating, with his face always turned toward the site of the Paraclete, in which Héloïse had her home among her nuns.[2] Reminiscences and hopes blended, we may be sure, in his crowding thoughts, as such quiet hours wore on. We

[1] De illo, sæpe ac semper cum honore nominando, servo ac vere Christi philosopho magistro Petro, quem in ultimis vitæ suæ annis, eadem divina dispositio Cluniacum transmisit : et eam in ipso et de ipso, super omne aurum et topazion munere cariore, ditavit. Cujus sanctæ, humili ac devotæ inter nos conversationi, quod quantumve Cluniacus testimonium ferat, brevis sermo non explicat. Nisi enim fallor, non recolo vidisse me illi in humilitatis habitu et gestu similem, in tantum ut nec Germanus abjectior, nec ipse Martinus bene discernenti pauperior appareret. . . . Lectio erat ei continua, oratio frequens, silentium juge, nisi cum aut fratrum familiaris collatio, aut ad ipsos in conventu de divinis publicus sermo eum loqui urgebant. Sacramenta cœlestia, immortalis Agni sacrificium Deo offerendo, prout poterat, frequentabat. . . . Et quid multa ? Mens ejus, lingua ejus, opus ejus, semper divina, semper philosophica, semper eruditoria meditabatur, docebat, fatebatur. . . . Hoc magister Petrus fine dies suos consummavit, et qui singulari scientiæ magisterio, toti pene orbi terrarum notus, et ubique famosus erat, in illius discipulatu qui dixit, "Discite a me, quia mitis sum et humilis corde," mitis et humilis perseverans, ad ipsum, ut dignum est credere, sic transivit. — *Opera Pet. Ven.*, epist., lib. iv., xxi. coll. 350–353.

The letter is repeated in Abélard's Opera, i. pp. 710–714.

[2] Lamartine, Memoirs of Celebrated Characters, i. 133. New York ed., 1854.

may believe that the sad bitterness of remembrance was merged and lost in the brightening expectation which reached forward to things celestial.[1]

On account of his failing health, for the sake of change of scene and a more genial air, he was sent by the Abbot to the priory of St. Marcel, near Châlons on the Saône, in one of the most delightful situations to be found in Burgundy; but his strength was too far gone

[1] In the Opera of Abélard (tom. i. pp. 295–328), are contained ninety-three hymns written by him for use at the Paraclete by Héloïse and her nuns. Two lines of a ninety-fourth are given, which is supposed to have been interrupted by his death. The following beautiful translation of one of these hymns, the twenty-eighth, beginning "O quanta, qualia sunt illa Sabbata," is by the late Dr. S. W. Duffield, of Bloomfield, New Jersey: —

AT VESPERS.

Oh, what shall be, Oh, when shall be, that holy Sabbath day,
Which heavenly care shall ever keep and celebrate alway,
When rest is found for weary limbs, when labor hath reward,
When everything, forevermore, is joyful in the Lord?

The true Jerusalem above, the holy town, is there,
Whose duties are so full of joy, whose joy so free from care;
Where disappointment cometh not to check the longing heart,
And where the heart, in ecstasy, hath gained her better part.

O glorious King, O happy state, O palace of the blest!
O sacred peace and holy joy, and perfect heavenly rest!
To thee aspire thy citizens in glory's bright array,
And what they feel and what they know, they strive in vain to say.

For while we wait and long for home, it shall be ours to raise
Our songs and chants and vows and prayers in that dear country's praise;
And from these Babylonian streams to lift our weary eyes,
And view the city that we love descending from the skies.

There, there, secure from every ill, in freedom we shall sing
The songs of Zion, hindered here by days of suffering,
And unto Thee, our gracious Lord, our praises shall confess
That all our sorrow hath been good, and Thou by pain canst bless.

There Sabbath day to Sabbath day sheds on a ceaseless light,
Eternal pleasure of the saints who keep that Sabbath bright;
Nor shall the chant ineffable decline, nor ever cease,
Which we with all the angels sing in that sweet realm of peace.

to be permanently restored, and there, on the 21st of April, A. D. 1142, the vivid, eager, and restless spirit, once so haughty and now so humble, passed from the earth to other realms. Years before he had expressed the wish that whenever he should die his body might be buried at the Paraclete, to be surrounded by the prayers of Héloïse and her sisterhood.[1] Thither, therefore, Peter himself conveyed the body in the following November, after it had rested for a time at St. Marcel, whose monks were reluctant to give it up; and there twenty-two years after, Héloïse herself, dying at the same age of sixty-three years, was laid near him, in the same crypt. Three hundred years after, the then abbess of the Paraclete had the remains of both removed, and buried anew at the foot of the great altar of the church. Still a hundred and thirty years later, by order of the superior of the convent, the bones, which when exhumed were still undecayed, were placed in one double coffin, and entombed in the chapel of the Trinity, before the altar. Even the fury of the French Revolution, which in A. D. 1792 sold the convent of the Paraclete, and two years later demolished its church, yet respected the coffin of the renowned and separated lovers, whom Death alone had re-united. Their earthly remains were at last removed to Paris; and seventy-five years ago, in November A. D. 1817, they were entombed again, we may hope for the last time, in the cemetery of Père-Lachaise. Votive offerings are never wanting

[1] Quod si me Dominus in manibus inimicorum tradiderit, scilicet ut ipsi prævalentes me interficiant, aut quocunque casu viam universæ carnis absens a vobis ingrediar; cadaver obsecro nostrum ubicunque vel sepultum vel expositum jacuerit, ad cimiterium vestrum deferri faciatis, ubi filiæ nostræ, imo in Christo sorores, sepulchrum nostrum sæpius videntes, ad preces pro me Domino fundendas amplius invitentur. — *Opera*, tom. i. epist. iii. ad Heloissam, p. 83.

at what is now their shrine; the city of Paris counts their tomb among the most sacred of its possessions; and the Greek words, *ΑΕΙ ΣΤΜΠΕΠΛΕΓΜΕΝΟΙ*, which separate yet unite their names, express a prayer which all may offer for their ashes on earth, as it was offered long ago for their spirits on high, that they may be "forever united."

As one reviews the career of the brilliant, impetuous, and unfortunate Breton, he can hardly fail to be impressed with the general justice of the judgment of Cousin — certainly no theological zealot — concerning the two eminent men whose collision, with the causes which led to it, it has seemed needful for me to sketch. "As St. Bernard represents," he says, "the conservative spirit, and the Christian orthodoxy, in his admirable good sense, his depth without subtlety, and his pathetic eloquence, as well as in his obscurities, and his sometimes too narrow limitations, so equally Abélard and his school represent in a manner the liberal and innovating side of the time, with their promises often fallacious, and their inevitable intermingling of good and evil, of reason and extravagance."[1] Putting Abélard by the side of Descartes, as beyond dispute the two greatest philosophers whom France has produced, he says of both that "with their native originality, one finds a disposition to admire but moderately what had been done before them or was being done by others in their time, an independence pushed often into a quarrelsome spirit, confidence in their own powers and contempt of their adversaries, more of consistency than of solidity in their opinions, more of acuteness than of breadth, more of energy in the temper of spirit and character than of elevation or profoundness of

[1] Ouvrages Inédits d'Abélard (Introduction), pp. cxcix., cc.

thought, more of ingenious contrivance than of common sense; they abound in individual opinions, instead of rising to the level of the universal reason, are obstinate, venturesome, innovating, revolutionary."[1] Cousin has done more than any other to rescue from forgetfulness the writings of Abélard, and to make them again familiar to readers. As a critic of his work he is friendly and discerning. The impression of the man conveyed in these sentences is that, I think, in which candid students will generally concur. Even the most friendly Rémusat, while saying that the scholastic philosophy shows no name greater than his and agrees to date its origin from him, describes him as not a great man, not even a great philosopher, and adds that if he had not suffered so much, and if his tragical misfortunes did not protect his memory, one's judgment of him might be more severe; though, he adds, "we need not mourn too much for his sad life; he lived in keen suffering, and he died in humiliation, but he had his glory, and he was beloved."[2]

His work may have seemed to others at the time, possibly to himself, to have been disastrously ended with his death; but it really was not. He had searched rapidly along veins in which subsequent explorers found greater riches. His History of his Calamities has missed the fame of Augustine's Confessions, or of Rousseau's, to both of which it has been compared. His philosophical speculations and theological doctrines never formed a coherent system, attracting many followers, and exerting upon the mind of students commanding

[1] Ouvrages Inédits d'Abélard (Introduction), pp. iv., v.

[2] Que sa vie cependant, que sa triste vie ne nous le fasse pas trop plaindre: il vécut dans l'angoisse et mourut dans l'humiliation, mais il eut de la gloire et il fut aimé. — *Vie d'Abélard*, tom. i. pp. 272–274.

influence. But his eager and restless philosophical spirit was as needful in its place, to the Church and to the world, as was the contemplative devoutness of Bernard. It had in it an equal persistency of life. Monasticism nourished both the tendencies; and the mystical theology needed always the sharp rigor of independent logical analysis exercised upon it, to correct and complete it. Abélard had wrought with greater effect than he probably knew. The subsequent crusades familiarized the mind of western Europe with Aristotle and his methods; and scholasticism, which had been at first the mere servant of a traditional theology, became more and more its companion and its interpreter. Peter Lombard, the Master of Sentences, who had been a pupil of Abélard, followed in a measure at least, his method in his collection and exposition of the statements of the Fathers, which became a chief theological manual of the latter part of the twelfth century, and the model for many which followed. Many commentaries were written upon it; and it was one of the first books to be multiplied by the press when the movable type had been discovered. Thomas Aquinas, in the subsequent century, whose "Summa Theologiæ" secured and maintained the highest renown in the universities of Europe and with the papal court, treated theology as the product of the union of philosophy with religion, and accommodated, far more perfectly than Abélard had done, the logic of Aristotle to the doctrines of the Church. The influence of the methods of Abélard may be traced more widely than his opinions, and his tendency has survived in communities and in centuries to which his writings have been quite unknown.

As we think of him in his relations to the abbot of Clairvaux we may confidently believe that while they

never might have been able to see eye to eye in their contemplation of the problems of theology, as presented in their time, they did attain a perfect harmony when passing beyond the mortal limitations; that with both, the heat of piety and the colder if clearer light of speculation united at last in the instant and perfect vision of God. And certainly we know that the special impulses represented by either, perhaps represented extravagantly by either, have been combined ever since, and will be to the end, in the historic development of the Church.

Tendencies which start from different points and move apart, following independent lines and seemingly seeking different conclusions, are not of necessity antagonistic, but are often in the end combined for greater common power and effect. The physical parable of this was familiar in regions which Bernard and Abélard knew. The river Rhone, after, with sudden turn northward at Martigny, it has flung its waters into and through the Lake of Geneva, and issuing thence in its arrowy course has absorbed the turbid Arve in its blue waters, strikes the Jura, and forces its way through rocky gorges, channelled and pierced by its velocity, into the valley which leads to Lyons. There the Saône, which has had its own rough cradle in the Vosges, and has followed without pause its separate course, is merged in the Rhone, to seek the sea, blended with it in peaceful current. Somewhat in like manner the swift and strong stream of devotion, which swept northward from Italy into Germany and France, and which, though sullied by the animal force and the sensual spirit that there mingled with it, retained in part its heavenly hue, and had impulse and strength to cut its way through all existing and resisting establishments of barbaric

power, was joined at length in central France by the later stream of scholastic inquiry. Together, in intermingling currents, thenceforth they ran, between banks which blossomed more and more with products of charity, fruits of thought, as valleys bloom with corn and wine. Together may they continue to run, until for each of us as persons, and for all communities of Christianized men, the deepening volume of spiritual feeling and the brightening successions of unconstrained thought shall have found at last their perfect rest in the Heavenly Sea, whose crystal calm is mixed with fire!

LECTURE VIII.

BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX: IN HIS RELATION TO GENERAL EUROPEAN AFFAIRS.

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IN a brilliant passage in the twentieth chapter of his History of England Lord Macaulay presents what he esteems a signal illustration of the progress of modern civilization, measuring that progress by the estimate which the world now puts upon mental force as distinguished from physical, the sovereignty which it assigns to the inspiring soul rather than to the trained and powerful body. He is contrasting William of Orange, then king of England, and the Duke of Luxemburg, then marshal of France, with other leaders of historical hosts. "At Landen," he says, "two poor, sickly beings, who, in a rude state of society, would have been regarded as too puny to bear any part in combats, were the souls of two great armies. In some heathen countries they would have been exposed while infants. In Christendom they would, six hundred years earlier, have been sent to some quiet cloister. But their lot had fallen on a time when men had discovered that the strength of the muscles is far inferior in value to the strength of the mind. It is probable that among the 120,000 soldiers who were marshalled around Neerwinden, under all the standards of western Europe, the two feeblest in body were the hunchbacked

dwarf who urged forward the fiery onset of France, and the asthmatic skeleton who covered the slow retreat of England." [1]

Certainly, this is vigorously put; and the characteristic elegance and force of the statement may perhaps beguile one, as sometimes happens in reading Macaulay, to the acceptance of a conclusion which would hardly be entirely just to the earlier time. It is by no means to be admitted that bodily size or muscular strength had always been requisite in the preceding centuries, even in celebrated leaders of troops. The father of Charlemagne was strong enough, we know, but so humble in stature as to take from that his historical surname. It was not the splendid knight Dunois, it was not any chivalrous man trained in tournaments and accustomed to battle, it was a slight girl of eighteen years, who stood in full armor by the side of Charles Seventh when he was crowned, A. D. 1429, in the majestic cathedral of Rheims; and yet that girl, known in history as Jeanne d'Arc, had been the animating soul of the armies which once and again had swept the powerful invading forces out of his path, and opened the way to that important coronation. Charles Eighth of France was by no means a man of the first, or perhaps of the second order; but when we remember that at the age of twenty-four, without previous experience in war, and against the advice of veteran commanders, he crossed the Alps, marched through Italy, swept Rome into his grasp, entered Naples in triumph and alarmed the Ottoman Empire, and that the next year he lifted his cannon over the Apennines, and with less than ten thousand troops gave summary defeat to an Italian army of forty thousand, we read with surprise that he was " short, badly built, with blank-looking eyes,

[1] Works, vol. iv. p. 24. London ed., 1873.

thick lips everlastingly open, nervous twitchings disagreeable to see, and a very slow speech."[1]

Even the sense of sight, apparently indispensable to military commanders, has not always been possessed by the famously successful, and infirmities of old age have by no means debarred them from astonishing victory. It was a man half-blind from his youth, and wholly blind in his later years, who proved himself first of engineers and greatest of generals in the early part of the fifteenth century, who is said to have won fifteen pitched battles, with more than a hundred different engagements, who achieved the most remarkable of his victories when he could see nothing whatever, and who made the name of the Hussite Ziska terribly famous in central Europe. And it was the blind Doge Dandolo, bearing the weight of almost a hundred years, who at the beginning of the thirteenth century stormed Constantinople, himself the first to leap from galley to shore, displaying the standard of Saint Mark, and giving signal triumph to the Crusaders.

The instances, therefore, have by no means been solitary in which men have accomplished great military achievements in spite of physical disadvantages; and it was not quite true that up to the year A. D. 1693, the date of the battle which Macaulay was describing, men personally infirm had not animated great armies. But six hundred years before that, the historian particularly says, one wanting in bodily vigor would have been remitted to some quiet monastery. Six hundred years carry us almost exactly to the birth of Bernard, in A. D. 1091. He was devoted, it is true, not more by his mother than by his own culture of piety, to the monastic life. He was afterward as frail as he was beautiful in his

[1] Guizot, History of France, vol. iii. p. 281.

physical frame. The spirit hardly promised at times to continue attached to the attenuated body; while to the end of his life it might have been said of him, as it was afterward said of Fénelon, that "it required an effort to cease looking at him." He was frequently unable for days to take any food. He almost never took it except under the sense of necessity, to keep the spark of physical life from wholly going out; and there was not a stalwart man-at-arms in the fortress of any feudal noble, or in the train of any knight, who would have found more difficulty in killing him, with lance or sabre, or with a buffet of the gauntleted fist, than he would himself have found in breaking a tendril from a branch of the vine which encompassed his arbor. But even then the strength of the mind so far surpassed the strength of the muscle that that infirm man ruled Europe, from the arbor and the cell. Not tasting the difference between wine and oil, he elected popes, and with his delicate hand guided and governed the counsels of monarchs. Secluded in the valley of Clairvaux, which his commanding personality had made the real centre of Christendom, he marked out the policies of priesthoods and princes; and as nothing can well be imagined more fragile than his frame, or more ethereal than his physical presence, so nothing can be conceived in the Europe of that time more controlling than his genius, more supreme than his fame. It is one of the sharpest contrasts in history — this, between the infirmity of the body which a rough wind seemed sufficient to destroy, and the spiritual command to which nations bowed. In the most exciting and strenuous debates, his voice, like a superior music, dominated and stilled into concert with itself the confused clamors which vexed the air. When king's counsellors were determining their plans, he shaped or over-rode

them, as summer winds push back the ice-bank, and turn it into rippling rills. As toward the military powers of the time his spirit appeared as flame toward iron, an evanescent aërial force against shining hardness of damaskeened mail. But the iron swiftly melted or bent at the touch of the flame, and could no more withstand the ardor of his onset than piles of brush can conquer fire. Certainly the age was not wholly barbarous, according to the standard which Macaulay presents, in which a contrast so illustrious, between that which was moral and that which was physical, had become possible.

To present imperfectly one or two instances of the extraordinary power thus exercised by Bernard is my purpose this evening; and with them this series of outline sketches of the man and his work will come to its close.

Of course it will be noticed that he had opportunities, peculiar to his time, for putting large force into public action, by animating or guiding the minds of men. The first lectures of this series had it for their purpose to make this evident from the start. Ecclesiastical forces were in his time predominant throughout Europe, — making such appeals to the general feeling and judgment of peoples, and having inherited such compact and controlling forms of organization, as had not been wholly paralleled before, as have not been surpassed in the following generations. And it was over these forces, incorporate in great and effective religious institutions, that Bernard exerted his primary control. He touched thus the centres of Continental energy; and the power which was behind armies and camps, the power which limited and directed State-movements, and which was equally at home in the castle and the cottage, in the

halls of the schools, the cells of monks, and the pleasure-chambers of palaces, — this was the power which hands as dainty and transparent as his could grasp and guide.

Then it is to be observed that all parts of Europe were at that time open, as they have hardly been since, certainly not for centuries past, to the regulating influence of any one man who was capable of using fit instruments to affect them. There was one language for educated men: the language of the liturgies, of the famous writings of the western Fathers, of the classical writers, who were even then widely read. In this language laws, charters, wills, all sorts of instruments for public record, were commonly written. In this language philosophical discussions were conducted, letters were penned, sermons were preached, and educated minds in all departments came to conference with each other. Whoever freely wrote and spoke the Latin tongue had therefore access to multitudes of persons, comparatively cultured and influential, in different nations, as if he had addressed them in their vernacular.

It is obvious also, that, partly by reason of this prevalence of one literary language, national distinctions were at that time by no means so prominent in men's thought as they came to be later; so that those who recognized an ecumenical Church, with all lands for its realm, listened to the voice of a Doctor in that Church, whether he were German, Italian, or French, almost as if he had been of their neighborhood. The universality of the Church, in other words, gave universality to the utterance of those who argued with energy, who stirred men's minds with impassioned appeal, or who spoke with authority, from its connected though distributed centres.

We shall recognize this feature of the time more dis-

tinctly, perhaps, if we bring to comparison with Bernard another man, also a distinguished teacher and leader in Church and State, of five hundred years later: I mean him who is known in history as the famous and powerful Bishop of Meaux. Like Bernard, Bossuet, you remember, was a Burgundian, born at Dijon, A. D. 1627, of a family distinguished for success not so much in arms as in the study and practice of law. Like Bernard, he was devoted with enthusiasm in early youth to the reading of the Scriptures; and like him, though for longer periods of time, he resorted to celebrated schools, to perfect himself in literary, philosophical, and theological studies. His fellow-students and his teachers were alike surprised by the variety, rapidity, and energy of his genius, and he was already famous in studious circles before, at the age of twenty-five, he was ordained to the priesthood. His earliest controversial work, and one of his acutest, was published when he was twenty-eight;[1] and before he had reached middle life he was the most attractive and celebrated preacher in the French capital. Indeed, his fame as a preacher was then, and has to a great extent continued to be, unique among those who occupied the pulpits of his time; so that a careful editor of his "Funeral Orations," following Voltaire, does not hesitate to declare him the only really eloquent man of the age of Louis Fourteenth.[2] He was almost as devoted to works of charity

[1] Réfutation du catéchisme du sieur Paul Ferry, ministre de la religion prétendue réformée, par Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, chanoine et grand archidiacre en l'église cathédrale de Metz. Metz, Jean-Antoine, 1655.

[2] On a dit de Bossuet que c'étoit le seul homme vraiment éloquent sous le siècle de Louis XIV. Ce jugement paroîtra sans doute extraordinaire; mais si l'éloquence consiste *et seq.* . . . si tel est le caractère de la sublime éloquence, qui parmi nous a jamais été aussi éloquent que Bossuet? — *Examen des oraisons funèbres; Œuvres choisies.* Paris, 1821.

Voltaire speaks often of Bossuet, and especially of the "Funeral Ora-

as Bernard had been; and he had a far higher titular place among the clergy of his time. He was not a monk, but a principal bishop, preceptor of the prince, member of the Academy, Counsellor of State, always a prime favorite at Court. He had of course a far larger knowledge of history and of philosophy than Bernard ever had; and he wrote as well as preached, largely, eloquently, on themes of doctrinal and of practical religion, for the maintenance of Christianity as interpreted by him, in criticism of opinions within the Church which differed from his own, and in ingenious and powerful assault on the schemes of religion which departed essentially from the Church-doctrine. Through the vast augmentation of royal authority, in the hands of the magnificent monarch who admired him, he had a reach of opportunity within the kingdom which not even Bernard had ever enjoyed; and he had of course the enormous advantage of the tireless printing-press, to multiply with accuracy, and with incessant rapidity, the copies of whatever he wrote. He was personally instrumental in the conversion of many principal persons to the faith which

tions," in a tone of admiration quite unfamiliar to his critical and scoffing spirit, as in instances like these :—

J'admire d'autant plus quelques oraisons funèbres du sublime Bossuet, qu'elles n'ont point eu de modèle dans l'antiquité. . . . Il est vrai que dans cette oraison [on Turenne] Fléchier égala presque le sublime Bossuet, que j'ai appelé et que j'appelle encore le seul homme éloquent parmi tant d'écrivains élégants. . . . L'exagération s'est réfugiée dans les oraisons funèbres ; on s'attend toujours à l'y trouver, on ne regarde jamais ces pièces d'éloquence que comme des déclamations ; c'est donc un grand mérite dans Bossuet d'avoir su attendrir et émouvoir dans un genre qui semble fait pour ennuyer. . . . Bossuet ayant à traiter, dans l'oraison funèbre du grand Condé, l'article de ses guerres civiles, dit qu'il y a une pénitence aussi glorieuse que l'innocence même. Il manie ce morceau habilement, et dans le reste il parle avec grandeur. — VOLTAIRE: *Œuvres Complètes*, tom. v. 259 ; vii. 532, 550, 671. Paris ed., 1877.

he upheld, against which they or their fathers had revolted, while he was as active as had been before the abbot of Clairvaux in resisting tendencies within the Church which seemed to him to threaten its peace, or to obstruct its just advancement. He stood in determined opposition toward the excessive claims of the papacy; and for this reason one of his books, posthumously published, had the honor of being put upon the Index of books prohibited, by a successor of the pontiffs whose faith he had defended but whose ambition he had checked.[1]

A great preacher, a great theologian, a great controversialist, a companion of scholars and of statesmen, endeared to the poor by his beneficence, yet a friend and confidant of the autocratic king whose splendid fame dazzled the Continent, the idol of the Church whose national liberties he powerfully protected, applauded while feared by the highest Roman authorities, — he was, as Guizot, the steadfast protestant, has truly said, "the noblest type of the finest period of the Catholic Church in France."[2] Fénelon, whose cherished convictions he victoriously opposed, never ceased to admire both his genius and his spirit. Gibbon became for a time a Roman Catholic, through the impression received from his books.[3] He

[1] Defensio Declarationis celeberrimæ quam potestate ecclesiastica sanxit Clerus Gallicanus, 19 Martii, 1682, a J-Bén. Bossuet . . . ex speciali jussu Ludovici Magni scripta. Luxemburgi, Andreas Chevalier, 1730.

[2] Hist. of France, vol. v. p. 585.

[3] The two books which influenced Gibbon were, the "Exposition de la doctrine de l'Église catholique," and the "Histoire des variations de l'Église protestante."

These works, says Gibbon, "achieved my conversion, and I surely fell by a noble hand. I have since examined the originals with a more discerning eye, and shall not hesitate to pronounce that Bossuet is indeed a master of all the weapons of controversy." — *Memoirs of my Life, Hist. of Decline and Fall*, vol. i. p. 36. London, 1854.

had the French language in its brilliant maturity for the ample and flexible instrument of his thought; and he wrote in it with an exact and copious elegance which Voltaire never equalled, and which Blaise Pascal never surpassed. It was not unnatural that while he lived he should have been esteemed the chief ornament and champion of the Church in France; that when he died it should have seemed to bishops and to the Court that the pre-eminent light of the kingdom had been extinguished, — that the pulpit, the academy, the synod and the palace, had lost the strong and decorated column on which their hopes had been steadfastly stayed.

But his vast power was, after all, almost wholly local in its range of operation. It was limited in direct exertion to his own kingdom, and only incidentally affected others, though the France of his time had become immensely more prominent in Europe than it had been in the earlier centuries. International distinctions had become also more prominent, and in their effect more sharply divisive; and the England of Cromwell's day, or afterward of Charles Second, James Second, and William Third, the Germany of Leopold, the Holland of John De Witt and after, the Spain of Charles Second, took almost no impression from the genius and learning, the action and the spirit, of the most distinguished churchman in France. In some important relations Bernard and Bossuet are always associated in the memory of students; and the influence of the latter, both religious and literary, is to-day undoubtedly the more sensibly recognized. But their power, and even their celebrity, in the Europe of their respective periods, were by no means equal; since Bossuet lacked, in his later position, the peculiar Continental opportunities which Bernard had possessed.

This existence of a common language among educated men, with this absence of the sharp international distinctions which afterward defined and segregated peoples, are important to be noted, as giving a partial mechanical explanation to the singular influence of the abbot of Clairvaux. But of course, after all, the vital explanation is in his remarkable personality, — the strange combination of inspiring, guiding, and governing forces which appeared in his mind, his character, and his life. These alone gave him the prominence and the control which no exterior advantages could have conferred, and which other men, more distinguished in position and with the same opportunities, wholly failed to achieve or to attempt.

He was related, as I have shown, to all classes of society, touching with equal closeness its extremes: the rich and noble through his own noble and martial lineage, the poor and dependent through his lifelong acceptance of a voluntary poverty, and his spontaneous and affectionate sympathy toward those without earthly advantage. His eloquence moved the multitudes, while his chivalrous daring, surpassing that of the disciplined soldier, impressed the rudest or haughtiest baron; his knowledge and counsel were freely accessible to the most obscure monk, his large views of public affairs gave light to statesmen, while the sweetness, sincerity, and dignity of his character, his prayerful piety and unswerving consecration, won the admiration of the most God-fearing and devout. No man, therefore, could have been more perfectly adapted, in himself and in the conditions of his life, to attract the attention and compel the homage of both castle and cottage; while those who had thought, if such there were, to find in him only a mystical dreamer, a contemplative recluse, with his soul absorbed in Scriptural study, or detached

from the earth in spiritual raptures, found him a man of a practical sagacity surpassing their own, and of an intense and vehement energy beside which theirs was superficial.

All this, however, would not have given him his great place in Europe except for his unceasing interest in public affairs, and his clear and strong sense of the relation sustained by that administration of them which to him seemed desirable to the furtherance of the interests of righteousness and truth. Without the slightest disposition to thrust himself forward, he was never one who dwelt apart, and who left grave matters in Church or State to take their course. His activity in their guidance, whenever he came in contact with them, was constant and surprising. It would have been surprising in any man; it was more so in one so frail of body, and so supremely engaged in the instruction and discipline of religion. And when in carrying on this large part of his work he encountered men, either for quiet interchange of opinion, or for resisting and reversing the judgments and the preferences which antagonized his own, he met them with a power which seemed sometimes to approach the miraculous. No summary of particulars, in his public station or his personal force, no patient analysis of the recorded effects, seem to give full account of such effects. I have already presented instances, in the tremendous impression made by him on William of Aquitaine, and on Conrad of Germany; and these, though conspicuous, were by no means singular in his modest, fearless, commanding life. What is true in mechanics seemed shown by him to be equally true in the department of moral energy. The velocity of his onset, multiplying the weight which belonged to his thought and inhered in his character, measured the momentum of his

personal impact on the minds and wills which opposed his own. At last men came, therefore, to expect his success, even when his controversy was to be with themselves, as very probably Abélard did at the Council of Sens. They either fled from his approach, as did the nobles at Metz of whom I have before briefly spoken, as did the women in his early life who hid husbands and sons to keep them out of the reach of his discourse, or else they had already half submitted when they consented to see his face. Except in rare cases there was nothing dictatorial or imperious in his bearing. But the subtile and stimulating energy of his spirit, his intensity of conviction, his impassioned emotion, when uttered in the eager music of his words, and on his thrilling and fascinating tones, captivated and conquered, with a certainty which seemed like the certainty in operation of a natural law.

Even where he could not go himself, he reached and moved men with marvellous effect through his letters. I have spoken already of his large correspondence, from which hundreds of his letters remain to us; and these letters are full, to an extraordinary degree, of the same properties which we elsewhere discern in his spirit and mind. In this respect they certainly surpass the reports or the fragments of his sermons which are left. These are sometimes disappointing: eddying around, instead of flowing onward; attracting the half-indifferent attention of the reader to temporary conceits, rather than stirring his soul with the urgent impression of some momentous, magisterial theme. But I know of no letter-writer who, in essential motive force suffusing and impressing the appeals of his pen, has been his superior; while they to whom his letters went, prepared to be affected by them through their knowledge of himself, and

reading them no doubt with a deliberate carefulness unknown in our time, were almost as generally subjected to his mind when thus expressed as if he had been in presence with them. It may not be wholly easy for us to understand this, since letter-writing with us has nearly ceased to be a practical force for producing general effects. It is now, chiefly, an instrument for the exchange of news, usually of minor domestic particulars, or for offering occasional congratulations, expressions of regard, friendly advices. We give to it only brief intervals of time, and even then are perhaps reluctant to undertake, glad to avoid it. That it should now affect public events, in important ways, with an efficacious vigor, would appear to us almost preposterous. But it must be remembered that letter-writing in the day of Bernard was to men like himself a serious, important, and prominent part of public activity. It took the place of books and pamphlets. It took the place, largely, of oral conference, especially among those who did not easily and frequently meet. It represented, therefore, with greater effect than we without effort can understand, the mind of the writer; and when letters were sent, as his usually were, by personal messengers, and accompanied by unwritten urgencies and instructions communicated through them, they filled the place, sometimes perhaps even more than filled it, of the personal interviews which could not be had.

So it was that those frequent and vigorous epistles which went from Clairvaux to the councils and courts of Europe, to principal persons in Church and State, or to those who were through any circumstances directly connected with grave affairs, multiplied prodigiously the force exerted by their author, and vastly extended the range of his appeals. He wrought by them as directly,

and almost as effectively, as if he could have been present at once in twenty places.

Among his important public achievements that of establishing Innocent Second on the papal throne probably occupied the first place in his thought, and is still most conspicuous in the memory of the world. Of that, therefore, it is natural that we think and speak first.

After the death of Honorius Second, in February A. D. 1130, two rival candidates had been elected to the papacy by those of the cardinals who respectively adhered to the one or the other. One was Gregory, cardinal of St. Angelo, who took the title of Innocent Second; the other was Peter Leonis, also one of the cardinals, who took the title of Anacletus Second. He was the grandson of a rich Jewish banker at Rome who had professed conversion to Christianity under the pontificate of Leo Ninth, and had taken his name; whose family had afterward steadily risen in prominence and influence. The descendant of this man, now designated as pope, had studied at Paris, had been for a time a monk at Clugni, had been made a cardinal by Calixtus Second, and had been employed in the high office of papal Legate. It is probable that he had had correspondence with Bernard, and that to him some kind and respectful letters had been addressed which remain for us in the collection of Bernard's epistles.[1] He received a large majority of the votes of the cardinals, thirty or more, while, according to Baronius, only sixteen had cast their votes for Innocent;[2] and the canonical rules for election had been in the case of Peter more exactly observed. But Innocent had been chosen first, at a meeting of his ad-

[1] Epist. xvii., xviii., xix.

[2] Baronius names the sixteen, and adds that three others at first opposed to Innocent afterward joined them. (Eccl. Annal., xviii. p. 429.)

herents held before the death of Honorius was publicly known, possibly even before it occurred; and though there were confessed irregularities in the action which exalted him,[1] those who were ranged upon his side appear to have been the more learned, devout, and eminent members of the Sacred College, and his own character to have been more attractive to those who wished piety and simplicity, rather than craft and worldly ambition, enthroned in St. Peter's.[2]

The immediate power of Anacletus at Rome was, however, far greater than that of his rival. The distinction of his family, the large wealth at his command, probably his more energetic spirit, gave him the advantage over his competitor, — an advantage which he vigorously, and for a time victoriously, pursued. He laid siege to St. Peter's, broke through the doors and into the sanctuary, carried off the gold crucifix with other treasures, and is said to have despoiled in a similar manner other churches of the city.[3] By the wealth thus summarily

[1] Nam etsi quid minus forte solemniter, minusve ordinabiliter processit in ea quæ præcessit, ut hostes unitatis contendunt; numquid tamen præsumi altera debuit, nisi sane priore prius discussa ratione, cassata judicio? — BERNARD: *Opera*, vol. i., epist. cxxvi. col. 330.

[2] Electio meliorum, approbatio plurium, et, quod his efficacius est, morum attestatio, Innocentium apud omnes commendant, summum confirmant Pontificem. —*Ibid.*, epist. cxxiv. col. 322.

[3] Baronius quotes: Sed audi ista ab ejus temporis scriptore Anonymo, ex codice Vaticano descripta; "Magna in Urbe discordia facta; nam Episcopi et Cardinales se in duas partes diviserunt, sed melior et sanior pars cum eodem Innocentio, qui majoribus studiis et meritis juvabatur, adhæsit; . . . Petrus autem Leonis cum sectatoribus suis humilitatem Innocentii parvipendens, non posuit Deum adjutorem sibi, sed speravit in multitudine divitiarum, in potentia parentum, in fortitudine munitionum, etc.; et ipsam quam cepit ecclesiam, per violentiam introivit, et per Sanctuarium et aureum Crucifixum pendentes coronas, cum toto thesauro argenti et auri, et pretiosis lapidibus, sive gemmis, . . . et Ciborium quod super altare B. Leo construxerat, detruncare præsumpsit. . . . Ad alias præterea Urbis

added to his own the number of his partisans at Rome was rapidly increased, bands of soldiers devoted to his cause were organized and equipped, he took forcible possession of the great basilica which he had plundered, and before long even the noble houses which had stood aloof from him were bribed or frightened into submission, and there was no more any prominent party for Innocent in the chief city of the Catholic world. He therefore fled, with a few adherents, slipping down the Tiber in small galleys under cover of darkness, and proceeding to Pisa, from whence he later entered France, landing in Provence in the month of September. He came, of course, to appeal for recognition to the bishops and kings of western and of central Europe, and to the important religious orders whose support was as necessary as that of any royal or clerical leaders; and his first effort was naturally to be made in the France whose power was active and wide, and whose enthusiasm, if awakened for him, would prove an almost irresistible force.

The crisis which thus appeared was simply an immense one, not for the clergy only, but for all Christian peoples, for courts and states, as well as for cloisters, for every diocese, every monastery, indeed for every faithful soul to which the Church having for its earthly head the Bishop of Rome was venerable and dear. A dispute between claimants of a secular throne was pregnant with manifold peril and threat. It meant hostile armies dashed into destroying conflict, cities and provinces ravaged by war, burning villages, paralyzed industries,

ecclesias manus extendens, quidquid in eis pretiosum invenit, similiter rapuit, et asportavit." (Annal. Eccles., A. D. 1130, tom. xviii. p. 429.)

Other particulars of the same sort are given with still more of detail by one of the biographers of Bernard. — Vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. ii. cap 1, coll. 2145–46.

bloody thresholds, desolate streets, ruffians in the sanctuaries, brigands in the fields. It meant, always, arrest of progress, wasting of strength, devastation of property, life sacrificed in multitudes of homes, hopes blighted in thousands of hearts. But a dispute between rivals each asserting for himself the proper spiritual lordship of Christendom meant even more than this, and unspeakably more: contending abbots in many monasteries, antagonist prelates in many bishoprics; ordinations stigmatized as schismatical and null; alleged priestly successions fatally fractured; sacraments denounced as representative of Anti-Christ, and received, if at all, with trembling hearts.

It meant baptisms, marriages, absolutions, burials, certain to be pronounced invalid and accursed by one side or the other. It meant the fierceness of hate on earth which always accompanies religious dissension, and spiritual anathemas, from either party against the other, loading the air and almost darkening the sky. One could hardly escape, in the confusion and clash of anathemas, being formally cursed on the right hand or the left; and if there were any uncertainty as to the Divine prerogative of the curser there could not fail to be disquieting fear while the terrible imprecations were being hurled forth.[1] The very rights of secular sovereignty became uncertain, since these were recognized as depending at last on pontifical sanction, and liable to be suspended by pontifical excommunication. It was never impossible, therefore, it was hardly unlikely, that in con-

[1] In such a schism every one was in apprehension of the sentence of excommunication, and it was difficult to escape it, while one fulminated against the other, fiercely denouncing his opponent and those who supported him. Thus each of them [the contending abbots or bishops] was at a loss what to do, and there was nothing left for him but to imprecate the curse of God on his rival. — *Ordericus Vitalis*, lib. xiii. c. xi. (A. D. 1130).

nection with a dispute of this sort contending armies would have to be marshalled, cities to be beleaguered, fruitful provinces to be flooded with blood, as rival princes represented in their pretensions the contradictory authority of rival popes; and the dispute could only be fiercer and more prolonged, because there was no superior tribunal, in Church or State, to which appeal might be taken, while it would have appeared simply impious to require one who might conceivably be Christ's vicegerent to submit himself to the ordeal, of arms or of fire. A controversy like this was therefore the most tremendous in itself, the most far-extending in its connections, that could have been precipitated upon Europe. It meant, in fact, the ecclesiastical unity which alone now held Europe together disastrously broken; Christendom divided on spiritual lines; what was esteemed the very Kingdom of God so centrally divided that it could not stand. And when Innocent appeared in France to propound his claims, the case was recognized by Louis and his counsellors as one of the gravest that could have been presented.

The question was by no means easy of decision, as to which of the asserted popes had fairer claim to the allegiance of France, or which was more likely to secure it. There were arguments enough on either side, and neither was lacking in resolute advocates. Anacletus had powerful friends in Paris, as well as multitudes of passionate adherents in the provinces of the South. He had probably reckoned on the adhesion of the rich and powerful abbey of Clugni, at which he had been formerly a monk. In this, however, he was disappointed, as Clugni welcomed Innocent with profuse hospitality, sending to Arles, it is said, sixty horse-loads of needed articles for himself and his retinue, and conducting him

with reverence to the abbey.[1] But though this, of course, gave Innocent an important advantage, it was rather a local than a general triumph, and left the question still undecided on which side the balance of conviction and feeling throughout the kingdom would finally turn. Innocent was personally on the ground, but letters and messengers of Anacletus were also there, eulogizing the French church, alternately entreating and commanding its support, and making it evident that if he were accepted as pontifical head, no honor or privilege which he could confer would be withheld from bishops or the king.[2]

In this critical emergency Louis Sixth convened a national council at Étampes, at which all the principal bishops and abbots were assembled, to decide the question, so far as they were concerned, between the aspirants whose defiant and mutually expulsive claims threatened the convulsive division of Christendom. To this council Bernard, not yet forty years of age, was specially summoned by the king and by eminent prelates, under the impression, evidently, that his influence would be decisive. He obeyed the summons without delay, though with a clear understanding of what of labor and of danger it involved, and a clear apprehension of the mischiefs which must follow any error or uncertainty in the decision. But his timidity had no reference to himself, only to the interests of what to him was the Church of God; and on his way to the city, with his sensitive nature supremely excited, he had the vision in the night to which I have before referred, in which there appeared to him, as in a trance, a vast church filled with a congregation harmoniously singing

[1] Ordericus Vital., lib. xiii. cap. xi.

[2] The letters are given by Baronius, tom. xviii. pp. 439–445.

the praises of God. He drew from this the inspiring augury that a decision would be reached acceptable to God, for the harmony of His Church and the welfare of Christendom. In this serene confidence, and the courage which was born of it, he entered the council.[1]

After fasting, and solemn prayer, the question which of the contesting pontiffs should be accepted by the Church in France was submitted by the king, the bishops, and the distinguished persons assembled in the council, with unanimous accord, to the examination and decision of Bernard. A question more largely or profoundly affecting the interests of countries, the public welfare of the Continent, in fact the development of Christian civilization, has never been submitted, before or since, to the judgment of any uncrowned man. He accepted with awe the tremendous trust, examined with care the order of the election, the merits of those taking part in that election, with the life and reputation of him first chosen; and without qualification he declared Innocent to be the true and lawful pope.[2] Those who heard the

[1] Convocato igitur apud Stampas concilio, abbas sanctus Claræ-Vallensis Bernardus, specialiter ab ipso rege Francorum et præcipuis quibusque pontificibus accersitus, sicut postea fatebatur, non mediocriter pavidus et tremebundus advenit, periculum quippe et pondus negotii non ignorans. In itinere tamen consolatus est eum Deus, ostendens ei in visu noctis Ecclesiam magnam concorditer in Dei laudibus concinentem; unde speravit pacem sine dubio proventuram. — *Opera*, vol. prim., Vita, i. lib. ii. cap. 1, col. 2147.

[2] Celebrato prius jejunio, et precibus ad Deum fusis, cum de eodem verbo tractaturi Rex et episcopi cum principibus consedissent, unum omnium consilium fuit, una sententia, ut negotium Dei, Dei Famulo imponeretur, et ex ore ejus causa tota penderet. Quod ille, timens licet et tremens, monitis tamen virorum fidelium acquiescens suscepit, et diligenter prosecutus electionis ordinem, electorum merita, vitam et famam prioris electi, aperuit os suum, et Spiritus sanctus implevit illud. Unus ergo omnium ore locutus, suscipiendum ab omnibus summum pontificem Innocentium nominavit. — *Opera*, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. ii. cap. 1, col. 2147.

decision bowed before it, as if through his lips the Holy Ghost had personally spoken. With universal acclamation, and with praises to God for His illuminating guidance, the honors of the pontificate were awarded to Innocent by the council, and so far as the kingdom of France was concerned the question was settled, though in the Southern provinces the party of Anacletus for a time retained its power. Surely no higher testimony could have been given to the influence and the prestige which had come to belong to this unobtrusive individual abbot, thirty-nine years of age, and wearing none of the dazzling titles in Church or State! One delicate hand had turned the currents of ecclesiastical empire throughout a powerful kingdom into the channels which it had traced. The monk of Clairvaux, not the cardinals, had appointed the pope.

How far Bernard may have been moved to his decision by his confidence in Haimeric, of a noble Burgundian family, who had been for some time Cardinal Chancellor, to whom the abbot had addressed affectionate letters, and to whom he dedicated his treatise "De Diligendo Deo," cannot now be said;[1] but his ulti-

[1] The adherents of Anacletus wrote thus of Haimeric, their rage being perhaps his commendation: —

"Haimericus quondam Cancellarius, qui Romanam Ecclesiam quasi vile scortum pro luxuriis, et avaritia sua, longo jam tempore habuit prostitutam qui simoniis, sicut vos ipsi (ut credimus) aliquando fuistis experti, exactionibusque variis Dei Ecclesiam, et Dei servos diutius trucidavit," etc. — *Epist. ad Lotharium*, *Baronius Eccl. Annal.*, xviii. p. 436.

Anacletus himself wrote of the whole party of his opponents, and of Haimeric in particular: —

"Filii Belial, filii pestilentiæ, inebriati calice iræ Dei omnipotentis. Quorum caput est Haimericus, quondam Cancellarius, avaritiæ servus, histrionum, et scurrarum delirus incentor, Ecclesiarum expoliator, servorum Dei improbus exactor," etc. — *Ibid.*, xviii. p. 444.

The pontifical privilege of cursing in Latin is by no means a modern one.

mate judgment appears to have been based, largely if not principally, on his justified preference for the character of Innocent as compared with that of his rich, ambitious, and unscrupulous rival. He admitted, as I have said, a certain want of the proper formalities in the election of Innocent, but he insisted, with utter assurance, that he was a man whose uprightness of life, his integrity of purpose, and his just reputation made him worthy of an office so august; while his comments on the spirit and action of Anacletus are scornfully severe, — are in fact so severe as to involve a practical condemnation of the pontiffs who had previously advanced him to his high though subordinate clerical offices.[1] The man whose character, more than his learning, more than even acuteness, variety, or splendor of genius, without any accessories of distinguished rank, had given him his singular supremacy in Europe, thus put the man whose character he esteemed on the pontifical throne of Christendom. Certainly, here was shown a vast progress from the foul chaos in Church affairs of two centuries before. Certainly the age did not wholly deserve the name of "dark" in which such a decision, from such a source, and based on such grounds, could determine a question so vast in its reach, so exciting to the passions, on which men might, as it seems to us,

[1] His testimony on these points is uniformly the same with that given by him to William of Aquitaine, though in this he employs the mildest terms (concerning Anacletus): —

Si vera sunt quæ ubique divulgat opinio, nec unius dignus est viculi potestate; si vera non sunt, decet nihilominus caput Ecclesiæ, non solum vitæ habere sanitatem, sed et famæ decorem. . . . Domini papæ Innocentii et innocens vita, et integra fama, et electio canonica prædicatur. Priora duo nec hostes diffitentur; tertium calumniam habuit, sed nuper falsi calumniatores in suo sunt mendacio deprehensi. — *Opera*, vol. prim. epist. cxxvii. col. 335.

reasonably differ, and the settlement of which must carry with it, in either direction, such immense and permanent effects. The spirit of Bernard must have rested securely in God when it could sustain an office like this without feeling the stir of ambition or of pride.

Much had thus been accomplished, but much more remained to be done. Louis Sixth at once sent his minister, Suger, with many bishops, to Clugni, to greet Innocent in his name, and escort him to the little town of Saint-Benoît on the Loire, where the Royal Family immediately met him, offering their homage, receiving his blessing, and promising affectionate and reverent service. The decision of Henry, the king of England, and that of Lothaire, the emperor of Germany, were however still in suspense. How Bernard overcame the hesitation of the great English king, I have said already. The English bishops were many of them opposed to Innocent, and vehemently in favor of Anacletus. Henry pleaded his conscientious doubt as to which he should accept; and Bernard went at him like a knight in the tournament, with his lance aimed full at the breast of his opponent. "Answer to God yourself," he said, "for your other sins; leave this one to me; let it rest wholly on myself." [1] The soldier-king yielded to the impetuous onset, and with his vast retinue assembled at Chartres offered his homage to the man whom Bernard declared the true vicegerent of the Lord on earth. It was again the Damascus blade against the heavy Norman battle-axe; or rather, it was like the modern rifle-shot against the casque which it smites and pierces. The king was strong, and could be stubborn; but the intense temper of the abbot, when fully aroused, was too much for mail to stand against.

[1] Opera, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. ii. col. 2148.

Lothaire, however, was not yet subdued, and there was doubt as to his decision. Anacletus and his friends had written to him largely, insisting on the irregular, invalid, and void character of the so-called election of Innocent,[1] and suggesting vague promises of large benefit to the empire from the recognition of Anacletus. Lothaire, however, was evidently inclined to follow in the steps of the two powerful neighboring monarchs in the acceptance of Innocent, and he in October received the latter with honor at Liège, holding the bridle of his horse as he led him through the city. But immediately, on being appealed to by the pope to conduct him with an army into Italy and to Rome, the emperor revived the question of investitures, on which so fierce a contest had been waged between preceding emperors and pontiffs. It was to the utter dismay of Innocent, and of all the Italian ecclesiastics in his train, that this grave question was thus reopened. Obviously, if Lothaire were stubbornly to insist on hard conditions, and to make the acceptance of them a prerequisite to his acceptance of the pope, Innocent must be humiliated, the power of the pontificate must be reduced, or he must fail to obtain recognition in the vast domains of Central Europe. No wonder that his companions turned pale, and wished almost that they had not left Rome to encounter this greater peril in the North. They could by themselves have done nothing with the emperor, to move him from the purpose which had now become an inheritance of his house, and for which the time appeared especially op-

[1] Their representation of the first hasty election was this: —

Quia igitur neglecto ordine, contempto canone, spreto etiam ipso a vocis condito anathemate, me inconsulto Priore vestro, inconsultis etiam fratribus majoribus, et prioribus, nec etiam vocatis aut expectatis, . . . pro infecto habendum esse, et nihil omnino existere, ex ipsa vestra æstimatione potestis advertere. — BARONIUS: *Eccles. Annal.*, xviii. 433.

portune. But again Bernard came to the front, and the same impetuous energy of speech, pushed on by the same swift energy of feeling, which had conquered Henry, conquered Lothaire. With wonderful liberty of utterance, and a wonderful authority, as his biographer says,[1] he soon brought the emperor to accept without conditions the claim of Innocent, and to show his submission to him as pontiff with significant public ceremonial. He promised, further, to march with an army into Italy in the following year, to establish the pontiff in St. Peter's.

After this conference with the emperor, and probably before a magnificent celebration of Easter at St. Denis, the pope with his retinue visited Clairvaux, the home of the man who had really placed him on the throne of Christendom; and there is something wonderfully touching, to the thoughtful reader even sublime, in the description by one of the monks of his affectionate welcome to that abbey, after the princely, episcopal, and imperial pageantries which elsewhere had attended him; after even the first opulent reception which had gladdened him at Clugni. At Clairvaux he was greeted, as Ernald says, "by the poor of Christ, not adorned with purple and silk, not meeting him with gilded copies of the gospels, but in tattered bands bearing a cross of stone; not with the thunderous blast of noisy trumpets, or with clamorous jubilation, but with the restrained modulation of chants. Bishops wept, the pope himself was moved to tears; and all marvelled at the grave aspect of the

[1] Ad quod verbum [episcoporum sibi restitui investituras] expavere et expalluere Romani, gravius sese apud Leodium arbitrati periculum offendisse, quam declinaverint Romæ. Nec consilium suppetebat, donec murum se opposuit Abbas sanctus. Audacter enim resistens Regi, verbum malignum mira libertate redarguit, mira auctoritate compescuit. — *Opera*, vol. prim., Vita, i. lib. ii. cap. 1, col. 2149.

congregation, as with solemn joy, all their eyes fixed on the ground with no wandering curiosity, they surrounded him, seeing no one through their closed eye-lids, while themselves seen of all. Nothing in their church did any Roman behold which he coveted; no splendid equipment solicited his attention. There was nothing in the oratory except plain walls. The celebration was accomplished," the chronicler adds, "not by banquets, but by virtues. Plain bread of unbolted flour took the place of wheat loaves, the juice of herbs was offered for sweet wine, vegetables in place of rare fish, beans and pease instead of delicate viands. If, by chance, a fish was found it was placed before the pope, and so far as others were concerned it was to be looked at but not used."[1]

It is quite easy to understand that however the pope and the cardinals might admire Bernard, and feel their dependence upon his aid, they would not care long to share his hospitality, but gladly departed for the festivities and the splendors of Paris. The abbot himself, meantime, had been commissioned to go into Aquitaine, and try to establish there the authority of the pontiff whom he had named.

He returned, however, in time to be present at an important council at Rheims in October A. D. 1131, where the king and queen were in attendance, with many prelates of England and Germany as well as France, and where the young son of Louis was crowned by the pope. Thirteen archbishops, and two hundred and sixty-three bishops, with many abbots and monks, are said by Orderic to have been in attendance;[2] but Bernard was here as elsewhere the animating and guiding spirit of

[1] Opera, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. ii. cap. 1 (Ernald's), col. 2149.
[2] Order. Vital., xiii. 12.

the assembly, with whom the pope took continual private counsel, and whose judgment of what was needed by the Church was fully expressed in the formal acts and declarations.[1] Since the council at Étampes in the previous year, immense progress had been made by the party of Innocent; and when this council at Rheims was dissolved, which had been sitting under his presidency, it might well have seemed to those not regarding things in their wider relations that the end was secured, and that his place in the papacy had been practically established.

In Italy, however, was still a wide and fierce resistance, which it was well nigh impossible for man to overcome. Anacletus and his partisans possessed the city of Rome; Roger of Sicily, the bold and haughty Norman soldier who exercised royal dominion in the South, was his unflinching supporter. Conrad, who three years before had been crowned king of Italy, led a powerful party opposed to any intervention by the German emperor in the matter of the papacy, and, through the influence of the Hohenstauffen family which he represented, was able to embarrass the emperor at home. Anselm, the ambitious archbishop of Milan, who had crowned Conrad, was a sworn adherent of Anacletus, and his vast official influence was exerted to the utmost against the

[1] In omnibus his dominus Papa Abbatem a se separari non patiebatur, sed cum Cardinalibus rebus publicis assidebat. Sed et privatim quotquot habebant negotia, Virum Dei secretius consulebant. — *Opera*, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. ii. cap. 1, col. 2148.

As to the sequence of the events above mentioned, — the meeting with Lothaire, the visit to Clairvaux, the council at Rheims, — what seems the more probable order has been followed. Mabillon places the papal visit to Clairvaux after the council (Opera, S. Bern., vol. prim. col. 86), but in regard to that, and the first mission to Aquitaine, the lecture accepts the order indicated by Ratisbonne (Hist. de. S. B., tom. i. pp. 274–277).

pope of Bernard's choice. Genoa and Pisa, both powerful on the sea, and both inclined to accept Innocent, were divided from each other by rivalries and antipathies, which seemed incapable of being reduced. Even the great abbey of Monte Cassino, head of all others, at last declared for Anacletus; and to bring the severed Italian States with the quarrelling monasteries into unity, under the pontiff whom France had preferred, seemed as impossible as to level the Apennines by an argument, or to empty the Tiber into a chalice. But the conquering energy of Bernard succeeded at last even in this.

The little army which Lothaire led into Italy, in the spring of A. D. 1133, consisting of not more than two thousand cavalry, was able to conduct Innocent to Rome, and to install him for a time in the Lateran, but it could not open St. Peter's to him, or permanently occupy any part of the city. The summer heats soon pushed the small army back to the Alps, and Innocent himself withdrew to Pisa. A wholly different force was needed, different from armies, different from diplomacies, utterly different from the noisy clang of battling anathemas, to tranquillize and unite the distracted Italian church; and that force was supplied by the presence, the eloquence, and the irresistible spirit of the now famous monk. I cannot here set forth his efforts in particulars. It is sufficient to say that he made three journeys to Italy, on what was to him this momentous errand, and that in the end he was wholly successful. He secured the cordial reconciliation of Genoa and Pisa; the more difficult reconciliation of the Hohenstauffen princes with the emperor Lothaire. At a great council held at Pisa, at which Anacletus was excommunicated, and all his adherents were deprived of the offices conferred by him, without hope of restoration, Bernard was the animating soul of the assembly, assist-

ing all by his counsels, regarded with utmost reverence by all, with bishops waiting before his doors on account of the crowds flocking to consult him. He seemed indeed, as his biographer says, not to be on the side which had anxieties, but on that which already possessed fulness of power.[1] From Pisa, at the close of the council, he went to Milan, and the excitement in that heretofore rebellious city I have already noticed. It was almost as if an angel of God, with radiant plumes and in the shining celestial raiment, had descended upon the place. They who had thronged from the city to meet him kissed his feet, and in spite of his reluctance and animated remonstrance threw themselves prone on the ground before him. Miracles without number were attributed to him. It was believed that whatever he asked of God would be given. The whole business of the city was suspended, that men might see him, hear him, and if so fortunate might feel his touch.[2] It was a fine frenzy of reverence, a tumultuous passion of admiration and honor; and it

[1] Adfuit per omnia et consiliis, et judiciis, et definitionibus omnibus sanctus Abbas, impendebaturque ei reverentia ab omnibus, et excubabant ante ejus limina sacerdotes; non quod fastus, sed multitudo communem prohiberet accessum; et aliis egredientibus, alii introibant, ita ut videretur Vir humilis, et nihil sibi de his honoribus arrogans, non esse in parte sollicitudinis, sed in plenitudine potestatis. — *Opera*, vol. sec., Vita. i. lib. ii. cap. 2, col. 2151.

[2] Ubi audierunt Mediolanenses Abbatem desideratum suis finibus propinquare, longe a civitate milliaribus septem omnis ei populus obviat; nobiles, ignobiles, equites, pedites, mediocres, pauperes, quasi de civitate migrarent, proprios lares deserunt, et distinctis agminibus incredibili reverentia Virum Dei suscipiunt. Omnes pariter delectantur aspectu, felices se judicant qui possunt frui auditu. . . . Vellicabant etiam pilos quos poterant de indumentis ejus, et ad morborum remedia de pannorum laciniis aliquid detrahebant, omnia sancta, quæ ille tetigisset, judicantes. . . . Cessatum est ab officiis et artibus, tota civitas in hoc spectaculum suspensa manet; concurrunt, postulant benedici; et tetigisse eum singulis salutare videtur. — *Opera*, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. ii. cap. 2, coll. 2151–53.

culminated when the entire people, led by the magistrates and the clergy, insisted on his remaining with them, and becoming their archbishop. There seems something of ironical shrewdness in his reply, but perhaps no other way of escape was open to him. "To-morrow," said he, "I will mount my horse, and leave it to Providence to direct him. If he shall bear me beyond the walls I shall hold myself free from all engagement. But if he remains within the gates, I will accept the charge and be your pastor." So, on the morrow, he mounted his horse, and proceeding at a gallop left in all haste the walls of Milan.[1]

His return to Clairvaux was everywhere like a triumphal march, and the reception which he there met was such as satisfied even his ardent heart. He might then reasonably look forward to following years of quietness and rest, interrupted only by the rebuilding of the monastery, to which he had given a tardy consent. But in the subsequent year, again at the personal urgency of Innocent, he went once more, for the third time, into Italy, to win the allegiance, if that were possible, of Roger of Sicily, the most determined of all the partisans who adhered to Anacletus, the most powerful in arms as well as in spirit, and without whose consent the enthronement of Innocent at St. Peter's was not possible. Roger was not willing to meet Bernard alone, but opposed to him Peter of Pisa, reputed one of the most learned and eloquent men in Europe, skilled in argument, and devoted to Anacletus. Him Bernard almost instantly silenced, by argument deftly blended with persuasion. But he had not secured the submission of the king. It is not at all certain that his further effort in this direction would have been successful; for the inter-

[1] See Ratisbonne, Hist. de St. Bernard, tom. i. p. 313.

ests of the bold and aspiring Norman were intimately associated with the cause of Anacletus, and he seems to have been about as insensible to spiritual appeal as was the staff of his lance. But at just this juncture Anacletus died; and the pontiff elected by those who had adhered to him, as his successor, called "Victor Fourth," a far less tough and stubborn antagonist than Roger of Sicily, yielded almost at once to the energy of Bernard. He came to the abbot by night, surrendered to him the papal insignia, and was by him conducted to Innocent to make before him his final submission.

The long and fierce schism, of more than seven years, was thus determined; and he whom Bernard had declared the true pontiff was recognized as such, by the Christian world, — by the East, indeed, as well as the West. Only five days after, while Rome was still tumultuous with joy, echoing and brilliant with triumphal processions, the intrepid and indefatigable abbot, who had wrought with such labors to such a success, was on his way back to look after his farms, to converse with his monks, to attend to the wants of the poor and the sick, to oil his own shoes, sit under his arbor, and pursue his meditative sermons on the Canticles, in his beloved Clairvaux.[1] His sustained humility in the entire prolonged and passionate struggle is to one reading the story the most remarkable of his achievements.

[1] Nam et ipse ridiculus pontifex, Petri Leonis haeres, ad eumdem virum Dei nocte se contulit; et ille quidem nudatum eum usurpatis insignibus ad domini Innocentii pedes adduxit. Quo facto civitas gratulabunda lætatur, Innocentio ecclesia redditur, Romanus populus ut pastorem et dominum Innocentium veneratur. . . . Sedatis omnibus et compositis, vix quinque dies teneri potuit, qui septem annis et ultra pro resarcienda eadem scissione sudavit. Exeuntem Roma prosequitur, deducit clerus, concurrit populus, universa nobilitas comitatur. — *Opera*, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. ii. cap. 7, coll. 2179–80.

A contrast is sometimes as helpful to the mind as it is to the eye in setting a matter vividly before us; as the shining figure stands out most distinctly from a dark background, as the rainbow exhibits the loveliness of its arch against the frowning gloom of the storm. And such a contrast to this extraordinary work of Bernard is presented, as you know, in the history of the Western Church at a time not long subsequent to his. The story is familiar in its principal particulars, and need not be repeated in detail. It will suffice to remind you that upon the death of Gregory Eleventh, in A. D. 1378, two popes were again elected, elected indeed by the same cardinals, after an interval of some weeks: Urban Sixth, who reigned at Rome, and Clement Seventh, who exercised pontifical authority from Avignon. Thus began another schism, apparently not more threatening at the outset than had been that which Bernard had closed, but which continued for forty years, and out of which emerged immense consequences, — some of them, doubtless, to the Protestant view, not wholly evil, but most of them then and permanently disastrous. When the rival pontiffs first elected had passed away by death, each party chose a successor for itself. A French assembly at Vincennes, with the king at its head, had declared for Clement; but it was impossible to bring other States, with general accord, to accept his rule. Spain, Scotland, and Sicily, stood with France. On the side of Urban were ranged Italy, Germany, England, Portugal, Hungary, and the smaller states around the North Sea. Enormous extortions were practised on either side, to get money for the contest. Simony became the common rule, and spiritual offices were matters of general undisguised traffic. The most ignorant and worthless, if rich or influential, were put without scruple into high

ecclesiastical trusts; while each pope anathematized the other, as an accursed usurper, full of all iniquity, the veritable Anti-Christ. The sale of indulgences — as the people understood it, giving priestly permission to any pleasurable sin — was wide and unblushing, and of course in its effect on public morals was immeasurably disastrous. It was a time of almost as utter confusion in the religious development of Christendom as the darkest preceding centuries had seen. Cardinals were tortured, capitals were convulsed, provinces were swept into most savage war. France became so disgusted with both popes, her own as well as the other, that for years, moved by the University of Paris, she practically recognized neither pontiff, and had no earthly head of the Church.

The most eminent men in the different kingdoms strove, as for their life, to put an end to this intolerable schism; among them royal dukes, great prelates, men like Peter d'Ailly, Leonardo Aretino, Robert Hallam, Nicholas di Clemangis, the great Chancellor Gerson. The French University bent all its energies to this end. It seemed entirely impossible to reach it; and as years went on the hearts of the faithful were more and more charged with gloom and fear. At the Council of Pisa, A. D. 1409, as a desperate resort, both the popes were declared deposed, and another was elected, Alexander Fifth. After his death, which was not long deferred, John Twenty-third, suspected of having poisoned the late pope, was appointed to succeed him, and his whole life frightfully illustrates the corruption of the times; declared to have been a pirate in his youth, certainly afterward of most profligate manners, equalling, if not surpassing the unspeakable vileness of John Twelfth in the tenth century, and charged at the Council of Con-

stance with being infidel to the faith, not even believing in man's immortality. The only result of the Council of Pisa was therefore to make three popes, instead of two, ruling simultaneously, the last one only differenced from the others by his pre-eminent shamefulness of wickedness. Fortunately, one may almost say, for the Church and the world, the character of this pontiff was so utterly unendurable that his own partisans could not support him, and a revolutionary crisis had to come.[1] Therefore at last, at the Council of Constance, A. D. 1417, — where not only cardinals were present, with archbishops, bishops, and heads of monasteries, but also deputies of universities, theological teachers, Doctors of the law, the emperor himself, and lay representatives of great secular powers — all three popes were again deposed, and Martin Fifth was elected in place of them. Even with that the schism did not wholly terminate, as Benedict in Spain still claimed pontifical prerogative till his death occurred, seven years after, and he was followed by a shadowy successor till A. D. 1429.

For forty years, as I have said, this terrible struggle shadowed and convulsed the powerless Christendom. It fevered all minds, fretted into constant excitement

[1] Against the darker charges no one spoke a word. Before the final decree, sixteen of those of the most indescribable depravity were dropped, out of respect not to the Pope, but to public decency and the dignity of the office. On the remaining undefended fifty-four the Council gravely, deliberately, pronounced the sentence of deposition against the Pope. — MILMAN: *Hist of Latin Christ.*, vol. vii. p. 479. New York ed. 1864.

Each pontiff applied the epithet "diabolical" to his rivals with constant and impartial vigor. But it seems to have fitted John as accurately as if made expressly for him. In a note Milman adds: "I give one class of the charges in the words of Gobelinus: Item ipse graviter fuit infamatus, quod cum uxore fratris sui concubuerit; cum sanctimonialibus incestum, cum virginibus stuprum, et cum conjugatis adulterium perpetraverit, nec non alia flagitia, propter qualia ira Dei descendit in filios diffidentiæ."

every malicious and greedy passion, made the Gospel itself a rallying standard for the worst craft, ambition, and treachery of men, and it appears evident that it largely obstructed, instead of assisting, the normal development of Protestantism itself. It chilled the moral life of Christendom; and the strong tendencies to a free and just interpretation of the Scriptures which already were appearing had to struggle for existence in that plague-smitten, tempestuous air. Yet to close the schism seemed as impossible as to pull mountains together with hooks and chains when an earthquake-force has rent them apart. Humanly speaking, only the incomparable viciousness of John gave a chance of success. And no small part of the explanation is, that while there were kings, councils, and an emperor, while there were learned and earnest men in high place and with large power, there was no *one* man in whom character, genius, and a commanding personal energy were so exquisitely blended that Christendom revered him, that no opposition could stand against him, that nations bowed, and were glad to bow, to his dominating word. There were multitudes of leaders, some of them brilliant and some devout, but there was, as men sadly saw, no surviving Bernard![1]

[1] Sismondi is scarcely just to Bernard, in general, though describing him as one "qui, par la vivacité de sa foi, l'énergie de son caractère, son activité et le zèle ardent dont il étoit animé, a mérité d'être rangé parmi les pères de l'Église." He describes him as "Ennemi de toute discussion, de tout examen, de toute liberté," and says, "il vouloit maintenir la soumission aveugle des sujets à leurs princes, et des princes à leurs prêtres." But of his work on behalf of Innocent he says: "Le zèle que saint Bernard déployoit en faveur d'Innocent II, multiplioit chaque jour le nombre des partisans de ce pape; l'activité, l'éloquence, l'enthousiasme de saint Bernard, dont le savoir étonnoit son siècle, pesoient déjà plus dans la balance de l'opinion publique, que toutes les irrégularités de l'élection

The fact in his public life which stood next in importance to this establishment of Innocent in the papal supremacy was, no doubt, his championship of the second Crusade; and though this brought disaster after it, and inflicted upon him keenest suffering, it is needful to any fair estimate of his life that we bring it before us.

It used to be a fashion to regard the Crusades as mere fantastic exhibitions of a temporary turbulent religious fanaticism, aiming at ends wholly visionary and missing them, wasting the best life of Europe in colossal and bloody undertakings, and leaving effects only of evil for the time which came after. More reasonable views now prevail; and while the impulse in which the vast movement took its rise is recognized as passionate and semi-barbaric, it is seen that many effects followed which were beneficent rather than harmful, which could not perhaps have been at the time in other ways realized. As I have already suggested, properties were to an important extent redistributed in Europe, and the constitution of States was favorably affected. Lands were sold, at low prices, by those who were going on the distant expeditions, very probably, as they knew, never to return; and horses and armor, with all martial equipments, were bought, at high prices, by those who were to need them on the march and in the battle. So nobles lost, while merchants and artisans correspondingly gained. Even the Jews, who could not hold land, and the history of whom throughout the Middle Age is commonly to be traced in fearful lines of blood and fire, increased immensely their movable wealth, through these transfers of property. Communes bought liberties, by

d'Innocent II., faite avec précipitation, hors du lieu fixé par l'Église, et par le moindre nombre des cardinaux." — *Hist. des Français*, tom. v. pp. 290, 369, 223. Paris ed. 1823.

large contributions to the need of their lords; and these liberties, once secured, were naturally confirmed and augmented as the years went on. The smaller fiefs tended to be absorbed in the larger; the larger, often, to come more strictly under royal control, thus increasing the power of the sovereign, — which meant, at the time, general laws instead of local, a less minutely oppressive administration, the furtherance of the movement toward National unity. It is a noticeable fact that Italy took but a small part, comparatively, in the Crusades; and the long postponement of organic union between different parts of the magnificent Peninsula is not without relation to this. The influences which operated elsewhere in Europe, to efface distinctions of custom and language in separate communities, to override and extinguish local animosities, to make scattered peoples conscious of kinship, did not operate there; and the persistent severance of sections from each other, favored of course by the run of the rivers and the vast separating wall of the Apennines, was the natural consequence of the want of this powerful unifying force.

Of course the Church wealth was vastly increased, since its lands could not be alienated, while it was all the time gaining lands, by purchase or by gift. But the final effect of this was to expose such amassed and exaggerated wealth to more determined and successful assault. The structure fell sooner because of its inordinate height. The riches would have been safer if less rapidly acquired, and less disproportionate to the wealth of society.[1] It is evident, too, that the Crusades, though

[1] La grande affaire pour les seigneurs qui s'étoient engagés à la croisade étoit de rassembler l'argent nécessaire pour cette expédition. Presque tous étoient disposés à vendre leurs titres, leurs droits, leurs seigneuries; mais il ne leur étoit pas facile de trouver des acheteurs. Ils ne tournoient

animated and fostered by religious authority, worked with silent constancy toward religious enfranchisement. Populations were mobilized. The land lost a part of its fettering grip on both baron and serf. Knowledge was increased, as men went to and fro. The general mind gained larger outlook. A new standard of character was presented to men, very imperfect, often undefined and obscure, but in which an active consecration to duty to some extent took the place of the lazier routine of contemplations and formal prayers. As at every great crisis, too, high qualities of moral life came to the front, and took a just pre-eminence in men's thought. The knightly champion of the cross was more exalted in the popular esteem than the bishop who tarried amid the pomps of his palace. The heroic valor and endurance of laymen contrasted signally the too frequent indolence and self-indulgence of monks.

So, by degrees, a new and more healthful public sentiment began to appear, with a new public consciousness of strength. What Christendom could do, if united for a purpose, was no longer a dream; and more liberal ideas came to development with this new sense of a common life, opportunity, power. Nations were associ-

pas dans cet espoir leurs regards vers le roi; . . . mais les évêques, les abbés, et tous les établissemens religieux, avoient amassé des trésors, qu'ils échangèrent avec joie contre des terres, des châteaux et des justices féodales. Ceux parmi les vassaux du seconde ordre, les vicomtes et les seigneurs, qui ne partoient pas pour la croisade, achetèrent aussi, aux termes les plus avantageux, de leurs suzerains ou de leurs voisins, des extensions de priviléges, des fiefs plus amples, ou de nouvelles seigneuries. Les bourgeois des villes enfin contribuèrent aussi de leur bourse ; et les communes, qui jusqu'alors n'avoient été que des associations armées, contre l'ordre, ou plutôt contre le désordre établi, acquirent à prix d'argent une sanction légale, que leurs seigneurs, pressés de pourvoir aux besoins du moment, et indifférens sur l'avenir, ne leur refusèrent point. — SISMONDI: *Hist. des Français*, iv. pp. 541-542.

ated in a general enthusiasm, and Europe at large became more than ever a self-conscious agent in the history of the world.[1] The comparative elegance of the Greek civilization made at the same time its impression on those from the ruder and rougher West. Even the virtues of Mohammedans came to be eulogized by Christian writers. The knights of the Crusades interchanged courtesies with Saracen soldiers; and Francis of Assisi, early in the thirteenth century, A. D. 1219, preached, as we know, before the Sultan of Egypt, enthroned at the head of a Mohammedan army. Diplomatic relations were at length initiated between Mongol rulers and Christian kings.[2] Meantime maritime commerce was

[1] Le premier caractère des croisades, c'est leur universalité; l'Europe entière y a concouru; elles ont été le premier événement européen. Avant les croisades, on n'avait jamais vu l'Europe s'émouvoir d'un même sentiment, agir dans une même cause : il n'y avait pas d'Europe. Les croisades ont révélé l'Europe chrétienne. . . . Ce n'est pas tout; de même que les croisades sont un événement européen, de même, dans chaque pays, elles sont un événement national; dans chaque pays, toutes les classes de la société s'animent de la même impression, obéissent à la même idée, s'abandonnent au même élan. Rois, seigneurs, prêtres, bourgeois, peuple des campagnes; tous prennent aux croisades le même intérêt, la même part. L'unité morale des nations éclate; fait aussi nouveau que l'unité européenne. — GUIZOT: *Hist. de la Civil. en Europe*, pp. 220–221.

[2] C'est là le premier, le principal effet des croisades, un grand pas vers l'affranchissement de l'esprit, un grand progrès vers des idées plus étendues, plus libres. . . . Nul doute que la société grecque, quoique sa civilisation fût énervée, pervertie, mourante, ne fît sur les croisés l'effet d'une société plus avancée, plus polie, plus éclairée que la leur. La société musulmane leur fut un spectacle de même nature. . . . Les croisés, de leur côté, furent frappés de ce qu'il y avait de richesses, d'élégance de mœurs chez les musulmans. À cette première impression succédèrent bientôt entre les deux peuples de fréquentes relations. Non-seulement les chrétiens d'Orient avaient avec les musulmans des rapports habituels, mais l'Occident et l'Orient se connurent, se visitèrent, se mêlèrent. . . . Des abassadeurs mongols furent envoyés aux rois francs, à saint Louis entre autres, pour les engager à entrer en alliance et à recommencer des croisades dans l'intérêt commun des Mongols et des chrétiens contre les Turcs. — GUIZOT: *Hist. de la Civil. en Europe*, pp. 227–229.

largely extended, and cities sprang from it, or arose by means of it to new riches and power, as the goddess ascended from the crest of the wave. The knowledge of the geographical distributions of the world was immensely extended; and it is a fact of interest to us, and to mankind, that in trying to reach the lands which Marco Paulo had visited and described in the thirteenth century, immediately after the last Crusade, Columbus found his way to this continent. The hands of the crusaders of three centuries earlier were really pushing the discovering ships across the Atlantic.

In a word, it may fairly be said that a great awakening of the European mind, with enlargement of its knowledge, and a keen invigoration of its general thought, came from the Crusades; that greater individual liberty resulted, with greater simultaneous political unity; and that the excessive localization of rights and obligations, natural to the feudal system, was so far broken as to be replaced, in orderly sequence, by the more general administration and the larger combinations out of which has come the modern political system of the Continent.[1] Nor were their moral effects

[1] Nous devons ajouter que la nécessité, pour les vaincus et les vainqueurs, de communiquer entre eux, dut contribuer à répandre la langue latine parmi les Grecs, et la langue grecque parmi les Latins. Les peuples de la Grèce furent obligés d'apprendre l'idiome du clergé de Rome, pour faire entendre leurs réclamations et leurs plaintes; les ecclésiastiques chargés par le pape de convertir les Grecs ne purent se dispenser d'étudier la langue de Platon et de Démosthène, pour enseigner aux disciples de Photius les vérités de la religion catholique et romaine. — MICHAUD: *Hist. des Croisades*, tom. iii. pp. 246–247.

La France fut le royaume de l'Occident qui profita le plus des croisades, et ces grands événements ajoutèrent surtout à la force de la royauté, par laquelle la civilisation devait arriver. Dès le temps des guerres saintes, on ne séparait plus la nation française de ses rois; et tel était l'esprit des peuples, qu'un vieux panégyriste de Saint Louis ne croit pouvoir mieux

wholly disastrous, in spite of the terrible evils and abuses to which our thoughts naturally turn. It was something, surely, amid the wild license of the times, and the desperate fierceness of predatory wars, to hear what seemed the voice of God calling men to remote and unselfish endeavors; and I cannot but believe that they were not few who, in hearing that voice and obeying its behests, awoke to a nobler spiritual life. It was something to have the Gospel-story set on high before the general mind, and to have nations allied for what seemed a service to the Heavenly King.

In these Crusades the French took from the first, as all know, a leading part; so far surpassing other peoples in the numbers which they sent, and in their successes, that the word "Frank" remains to this day in large parts of the East the equivalent of "European." Such an enterprise suited the sensibility of the nation, as it was becoming more proper to call it, — its adventurous, imaginative, and uncalculating spirit; and so for a century and three quarters, from the Council of Clermont, in A. D. 1095, to the death of Louis Ninth, in A. D. 1270,

honorer la mémoire du monarque français qu'en parlant des merveilles et de la gloire de la France. — MICHAUD: *Hist. des Croisades*, tom. vi. p. 167.

Les communes, qui tiraient leur origine des progrès du commerce, ne négligeaient point de protéger l'industrie; et, dans les contrats d'association, des dispositions formelles mettaient toujours les marchands étrangers à l'abri de la persécution et des brigandages. . . . Nous ajouterons qu'à leur départ les comtes et les barons avaient besoin d'argent, et que pour en avoir ils étaient obligés de faire des concessions. Ils avaient encore plus besoin d'argent à leur retour, et montraient les mêmes dispositions à céder quelque chose de leurs droits. — *Ibid.*, vi. pp. 269, 271–272.

On doit ajouter que les croisés, qui partaient de toutes les contrées de l'Europe, apprirent à se connaître entre eux sous l'étendard de la croix. Les peuples ne furent plus étrangers les uns pour les autres, ce qui dissipa l'ignorance où ils étaient sur les noms des villes et des provinces de l'Occident. — *Ibid.*, vi. p. 308.

its blood and treasure were freely expended in this distant and costly service. In France the impulse which electrified the peoples was first sent forth. In France the second great movement had its origin, the push of which was felt by after generations; and the power which carried this to its astonishing primary success was largely the power which belonged to the swift and invincible spirit of the extraordinary abbot of Clairvaux. This has already been briefly noticed, but it should be before us more distinctly.

Bernard was every whit a Frenchman, in sensibility and responsiveness to great public conceptions, in chivalric courage, and impetuous enterprise. The inspiring enthusiasm which had swept through the kingdom while he was a child would have found none readier to accept it if he had then been of mature age. The stir of that impassioned Crusade must have blended itself with his earliest recollections, for he was a boy of five years old when Peter the Hermit with fiery eloquence carried the cross and the war-cry through France. His father, Tescelin, had not gone to the East, but his almost royal feudal superior, Hugh of Burgundy, had been one of the company which went out in the first year of the twelfth century. He had died in the East, and his body had been brought back from thence to be buried at Citeaux. Bernard was at that time eleven years old, and the impression on his intense mind of the distant journey and lonely death, the great Greek cities, the desert wastes, the turrets of Jerusalem and their swarthy defenders, the fierce assault and sanguinary success, with the solemn crypt which was all that at last was left to knightly valor, — one can hardly imagine any other impression more distinct or more influential.

Fifty years had passed since the first Crusade had had

inception at the Council of Clermont. The leaders of it were in their graves; but the Latin kingdom established in Palestine by their valor and sacrifice had seemed to remain substantially secure, when suddenly on the one hand the Mohammedans were united, under Zenghis, Emir of Mosul, a born and bold commander of men, while the Christians were divided by factious strife, the rivalries of leaders, and private wars. The descendants of the crusaders had grown luxurious and dissolute under Eastern skies. Fortress after fortress had fallen into infidel hands, until at last Edessa itself, whose earliest Christian king, Abgarus, was reputed to have been a contemporary of Christ, to have had a personal correspondence with Him,[1] and to have received a picture of Him, was taken by assault, and its inhabitants were slain with merciless carnage. Noureddin, who soon followed Zenghis in the Mohammedan leadership, was reasonably supposed to be able to threaten Jerusalem itself, as Saladin, his brilliant Koordish successor, did actually take it in A. D. 1187. Men saw already in anticipation what those then witnessed who were left in Jerusalem, the cross torn from the summit of the temple, and dragged for days through the mire of the streets. The holy places were thus to come again, it was now feared, into infidel hands, and all the blood lavishly shed upon the steeps and sands of the East was to prove for Christendom a useless libation.

At this time, therefore, came the suggestion of a second Crusade. The young Louis Seventh, then on the throne, was eager for it, though Suger, his minister, energetically opposed the vast and exhausting foreign expedition. Three assemblies were successively convened to consider the scheme, — at Bourges, at Christ-

[1] For what purport to be the letters, see Eusebius, lib. i. cap. xiii.

mas, A. D. 1145, at Vézelai, at Easter, A. D. 1146, and at Étampes, A. D. 1147, — and at each of these Bernard was present. He had then reached the age of fifty-five years. The freshness of youth, and the relative strength of middle life, alike had gone. He was worn and broken by weariness and sickness, prematurely old, and increasingly anxious to remain in his convent, and take no further prominent part in public affairs.[1] But the combined voices of king and pontiff were too imperative to be disobeyed, and they only articulated the common wish of both kingdom and Church. So he came to do what to him was the work of God; and so he stood before the assemblies, weak and heroic, emaciated and masterful, seeming equally compact of feebleness and of fire.

At Bourges he counselled a present delay, till the judgment of the pontiff on the matter should be fully declared, while meantime he wrote to him a stirring letter, exhorting him vehemently, as he afterward did, to promptness, courage, and great action; reminding him that in a cause so noble and so general things were not to be done tepidly or timidly; that it is the part of

[1] Two years before (A. D. 1143) he had written to Peter of Clugni: "Decretum est mihi ultra non egredi monasterio, nisi ad conventum abbatum Cistercium semel in anno. Hic fultus orationibus vestris, et benedictionibus consolatus, paucis diebus, quibus nunc milito, expecto donec veniat immutatio mea. Propitius sit mihi Deus, ut non amoveat orationem vestram et misericordiam suam a me. Fractus sum viribus, et legitimam habeo excusationem, ut jam non possim discurrere ut solebam. Sedebo et silebo, si forte experiar quod de plenitudine intimæ suavitatis sanctus propheta eructat: 'Bonum est,' inquiens, 'exspectare Dominum in silentio.'" — *Opera*, vol. prim., epist. ccxxviii. col. 462.

Two years later he wrote to Eugenius: "Hinc est quod litteræ istæ non sunt voluntatis, sed necessitatis, et amicorum extortæ precibus, quibus negare non possum modicum illud quidquid residuum est vitæ meæ. Jam enim de reliquo breves erunt dies mei, et solum mihi superest sepulchrum. — *Opera*, vol. prim., epist. ccxxxviii. col. 499.

brave men to show a spirit rising with the occasion, and to be boldest when difficulties are greatest; and that it was especially his part, as the successor of Peter, not now to be wanting in holy zeal.[1] The Papal bull soon followed, approving the Crusade, and appointing Bernard to preach it, in place of the pope who for the present could not leave Rome. At Vézelai, therefore, in Easter week, vast crowds were assembled, whom the eloquence of Bernard again swayed and inspired with irresistible force. The king and queen were in attendance, with many of the greater peers and prelates, and a multitude of men-at-arms, and with a vast gathering of the neighboring populations. In the absence of any church or square large enough to contain them, they were gathered around a hill, on which was raised a platform for the preacher. It was not of the wealth and fame which might be acquired in Oriental expeditions, but of the sufferings of Christians there that Bernard spoke, of the profanation of the places trodden by Christ, of the summons to every Christian heart made by the need and the duty of the hour; and men as they heard him, or even as they saw his thin figure and spiritual face kindled and glorified with transcendent emotion, lost control of their minds. It was as if skies silent above them had broken into sudden speech. The reluctance of nobles was overcome; the memory of past disaster was revived only to move them to a higher self-sacrifice; the hesitation of the prudent was swept away in the impetuous rush of general excitement, and the enthusiasm, like that of a half-century before, again surged over the stimulated France. Robes and mantles were again torn up to furnish crosses. The queen, the king's brother, many knights of renown, many bishops, with the king him-

[1] Vol. prim., epist. cclvi. coll. 538-540.

self, and a multitude of soldiers and of the people, received the cross, and were passionately committed to the new expedition. In spite of all difficulties, in spite of his own physical infirmities, the West was roused by the great abbot to face again, and if possible to conquer, the distant East. It was the honor of the Church and the glory of the Lord which stirred him to the work.

At Chartres, a little later, another assembly was convened, and successively others at many cities, where the same phenomena appeared, — strong men carried out of themselves by the voice of one who had hardly strength to hold himself up, the delicate figure sending forth its prodigal impulse as if an ocean were gushing from a brook. At Chartres the multitudes clamorously insisted that Bernard himself should lead the Crusade;[1] but they might as well have tried to upset the Alps. "You may be sure," he wrote to the pope, "that it is not of my counsel or will, and has no possibility in it. . . . I beseech you, by the love which you owe me, that you will not deliver me over to these human desires."[2] After the prodigious work of the summer he went toward the close of the year into Germany, the enthusiastic spirit again lifting and liberating the debilitated body, and there also, with princes, peoples, the emperor himself, his appeals proved of irresistible force. This was the more remarkable because the language in which he spoke must have been unfamiliar to most of those who heard him,[3] and because Germany had

[1] Baronius, Eccl. Annal., an. 1146, tom. xviii. p. 658. Hoc decretum in Concilio consensu omnium.

[2] Vol. prim. epist. cclvi. col. 540.

[3] The testimony on this point is explicit: "Inde erat quod Germanicis etiam populis loquens miro audiebatur affectu, et ex sermone ejus quem intelligere, ut pote alterius linguæ homines, non valebant, magis quam ex peritissimi cujuslibet post eum loquentis interpretis intellecta locutione,

always heretofore been sluggish if not hostile toward the Crusade. It had taken no part as an empire in the first expedition. It was divided by bitter feuds. Hostility to the papacy, and suspicion of its designs, widely prevailed among all classes; and the emperor Conrad had but recently come to the throne. An extraordinary power was manifestly needed to push the impulse generated in France into the regions beyond the Rhine; and that power resided alone in the spirit of Bernard. He took up the work without hesitation, and threw himself into it with a self-regardless consecration at which even his friends were amazed. I have spoken already of the sermon which conquered the reluctance of the emperor. Elsewhere the story was always the same, — populations stirred as if a spell had been laid upon them; cities whirled into excitements that seemed paroxysmal; multitudes set in eager movement for the camp and the march. According to his own testimony castles and towns were almost left vacant, and few men remained for the business of the world.[1] According to the testimony of those who attended him, the most astonishing miracles were only the customary incidents of his progress, of which the narratives, fervently sincere, and often carefully circumstantial, fill many pages.[2] His affectionate sympathy for the suffering and the sick appeared something celestial, while nothing was thought too vast for his power. He seemed to men the immediate personal representative of the Lord, again walking the earth with patient feet, with the Divine light in his

sedificari illorum devotio videbatur, et verborum ejus magis sentire virtutem; cujus rei certa probatio tunsio pectorum erat, et effusio lacrymarum." — *Opera*, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. iii. cap. 3, col. 2194.

[1] Opera, vol. prim., epist. ccxlvii. (ad Eugenium) coll. 520–521.

[2] Vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. vi. coll. 2275–2325, *et al.*

eyes, and the power of a tender omnipotence in his hands. It was not long before Germany showed, in leaders and people, the same surprising exaltation of spirit which had already been manifest in France. The supremacy of the inspiring mind was more miraculous than all physical wonders.

Returning from Germany, after a few days of rest at Clairvaux, he was again at the assembly at Étampes, where routes were to be chosen for the crusading armies, and a regent to be appointed for the kingdom during the prospective absence of the king. The abbot Suger and the count Nevers were named by Bernard, on behalf of the nobles and high ecclesiastics to whom the selection had been committed. The count absolutely refused the office, and the abbot only reluctantly accepted it, under the positive command of the pope, though he subsequently accomplished its manifold duties with such fidelity and such signal success as demonstrated the wisdom of the choice of Bernard. This was in February, A. D. 1147. Another visit to Germany followed, to finish the work there auspiciously begun, and now prosperously advanced; and our nerves are rested, whether his were or not, when we know that probably after that he had some weeks of refreshment at Clairvaux, before meeting the pope, Eugenius Third, at Paris, and setting out on a new series of hardly less arduous labors and struggles. Before the end of June the French army was on the way to the Holy Land, having been preceded a little by the German army with the emperor at its head. With the French king went Eleanor, his wife, daughter of that William of Aquitaine whose fierce will had been broken twelve years before by the terrible energy of Bernard; and the wives of many of the knights went with them, with other women whose presence became a source of weakness and disaster.

Distaffs were sent by scornful friends to the able-bodied men who tarried at home; so that it may almost literally be said that all France, which had been in part reluctant at first, with Germany, which had been distinctly unwilling, were launched upon this second Crusade by the preaching of Bernard, not less directly than the similar armies of fifty years before had been started by the preaching of Peter the Hermit. He represented the pontiff in it, but his own mind was stirred to its centre by the impassioned inspiring thought of holy places, hallowed by Christ, preserved for the reverent occupation of His people; of the hill on which His cross had been set, made the possession of those who by that cross had been redeemed; of the sepulchre, from which His body had risen, retained by the Church whose cradle it had been; of the mount of the Ascension, forevermore crowned with His advanced and victorious standard. "Mistaken," we call it, and so doubtless it was; but it was as truly an ideal enthusiasm as that of any one who has sought to perform his missionary work in distant lands, or has wrought into permanent laws and institutions the principles of equity and the temper of love. And it must forever remain an example, eminent and shining, of what an enthusiasm that is careless of obstacle and fearless of danger can accomplish.

The issue was disastrous, as we know, for reasons as obvious as are the relations of Lebanon to the sea. The result is all with which we have concern. Reaching Palestine with only fragments of broken armies, and visiting Jerusalem rather as pilgrims than as warriors, the emperor and the king besieged Damascus, failed to capture it, relinquished wholly any attempt to rescue Edessa, and at length returned to Europe with the shattered remnants of magnificent hosts in utmost weak-

ness and confusion. The rage of the disappointed peoples, bereaved of friends, stripped of moneys, not so much humbled as exasperated by tremendous defeat, smote Bernard with furious reproach, as the author of their griefs, the blind leader who had led them into the deadly ditch. This came, too, at a time when he was by no means as able to bear it as he would have been earlier, while his forces were in the freshness of mature strength. He felt the prodigious disappointment of his hopes, perhaps more keenly than any other in either of the kingdoms; but the popular wrath, succeeding the years of universal affectionate reverence, hardly seems to have disturbed him. He had sought to please God rather than man; and the thought that in this he had not succeeded was the only thing that could throw him from his balance. So far as man's anger was concerned, he showed no care and made no moan. It is very certain that the most desperate effort to burn him alive would not have wrung such from him. In writing briefly to the pope Eugenius on the matter, some months later, he braced himself upon the fact that in urging the Crusade he had spoken, not his own mind alone, but that of the pontiff, which was to him as the mind of Christ; that the judgments of God were past finding out, though true and righteous altogether; that even under the leadership of Moses, the servant of God, the Israelites had suffered terrible things, and those who went out with him had failed to reach the Land of Promise; that many of the crusaders, like the Israelites, had proved unworthy of Divine favor; and that, for himself, his conscience was clear: he had felt that God was with him in preaching the Crusade, and he was ready to accept any abuse if only men would not murmur against Him. It would be to him a blessing if the Most High would use

him as a buckler, to intercept blasphemies against Himself.[1]

Having said so much he went calmly on, amid the whirlwind of popular fury, and in the very crisis of his personal griefs, to compose or to complete the greatest of his works, — that on "Consideration," addressed to the pope. The book has remained, from that day to this, the mirror of his thought concerning a true pastor of Christendom. The image presented in it is one beside which many of the pontiffs, as presented in their annals, are but hideous caricatures of a lofty and holy ideal; beside which Eugenius himself may have well been abashed. The man whose eloquence, whose energy, and whose counsel had largely quickened and governed Europe for thirty years, with paternal affection and a judicial severity admonished him who was the nominal head of the Church to cultivate the modesty, humility, spirituality, which the Lord required, and of which we find in his own career an illustrious example; he reminded the pontiff, with loving sternness, of the vast

[1] Cucurrimus plane in eo, non quasi in incertum, sed jubente te, imo per te Deo. . . . Et quidem judicia Domini vera: quis nesciat? At judicium hoc abyssus tanta, ut videar mihi non immerito pronuntiare beatum, qui non fuerit scandalizatus in eo. . . . Moyses educturus populum de terra Ægypti, meliorem illis pollicitus est terram. Eduxit; eductos tamen in terram, quam promiserat, non introduxit. Nec est quod ducis temeritati imputari queat tristis et inopinatus eventus. . . . Bene, illi increduli et rebelles; hi autem quid? Ipsos interroga. Quid me dicere opus est, quod fatentur ipsi? . . . Unde scimus quod a Domino sermo egressus sit? Quæ signa tu facis, ut credamus tibi? Parcendum verecundiæ meæ. Responde tu pro me et pro te ipso, secundum ea quæ audisti, et vidisti; aut certe secundum quod tibi inspiraverit Deus. . . . Perfecta et absoluta cuique excusatio, testimonium conscientiæ suæ. . . . Bonum mihi, si dignetur me uti clypeo. Libens excipio in me detrahentium linguas maledicas, et venenata spicula blasphemorum, ut non ad ipsum perveniant. Non recuso inglorius fieri, ut non irruatur in Dei gloriam. — *Opera*, vol. prim., De Consideratione, lib. ii. cap. 1, coll. 1021–24.

responsibility which attended his power, and of that supreme final account which he could nowise fail to render, at the approaching tribunal of the Master, to Him whose minister and servant he was. There is no single work of Bernard in which his spirit is more clearly or more tranquilly revealed; none which is a better memorial of him. And it was written, in what he himself styled "the season of his misfortunes" — when the nations which had recently been thrilled with his eloquence, astounded by his amazing works, and pushed by his energy to magnificent enterprise, were stirred by griefs too deep for tears, and hot with a rage that made the air like a fiery furnace. I know of no one who could better have taken to himself the ancient words: "In the time of trouble He shall hide me in His pavilion; in the secret of His tabernacle shall He hide me; He shall set me up upon a rock;" "In the shadow of Thy wings will I make my refuge, until these calamities be overpast." [1]

It would be delightful, but it is of course impossible within the present fast narrowing limits, to follow his career into other particulars, and to show how the same devoted, intrepid, and masterful spirit revealed itself elsewhere, indeed in the whole conduct of his life. It naturally reminds one of the musical but powerful stream, which sometimes flows quietly in well-worn channels, sometimes spreads out in tranquil abundance into shining lake-expanses, while again, with a force apparently augmented by interruption and swelling through delays, it pours itself with conquering onset on what has opposed it, and breaking or cutting its way through obstacles takes up once more its quiet and reviving course. Only one or two matters not yet referred to

[1] Psalms xxvii. 5, lvii. 1.

may I touch upon briefly, before closing this too brief account of a man so remarkable in character and in work.

The broad range of his circumspect care over what affected the interests of the Church is shown clearly — Dean Milman thinks to his dishonor[1] — in his prolonged intervention in a matter apparently so local and remote as the election of an archbishop of York in England. The history of the case was substantially this: after the death of the previous archbishop, A. D. 1140, William, a nephew of Stephen, king of England, was elected to the office by one party; Henry Murdach — honored by Bernard, to whom the letter advising to the study of rocks and woods if he would gain wisdom had years before been addressed, who had been afterward a monk at Clairvaux, and who was now abbot of Fountains' abbey — was elected by the other.[2] It appears to have been fully believed by Bernard, whatever the absolute fact may have been, that the king's nephew had been chosen under pressure, and by aid of promised royal favors; that he was thus improperly elected, and was in himself unfit for the place, while his competitor was a man of learning, piety, and general capacity, and was the prelate properly to be recognized. He wrote in this

[1] Hist. of Lat. Christianity, vol. iv. pp. 247–248. New York ed., 1861.

[2] Anno 1140 obiit Thurstinus, archiepiscopus Eboracensis. Electio successoris discordibus votis agitata est, aliis Willelmum Stephani regis nepotem, Eboracensis Ecclesiæ thesaurarium; aliis Henricum Murdach, abbatem Fontanensem, B. Bernardi quondam in Clara-Valle discipulum, eligentibus. Willelmum Henricus Wintoniensis episcopus consecravit, sed petentem Roma pallium Papa rejecit. Qua repulsa rex offensus, Henricum a Pontifice confirmatum, et pallio donatum recipere renuit. Quin regis ad exemplum compositi cives et subditi, pastorem non admiserunt. Tandem placato rege Henricus a suis susceptus præfuit decem annis, mortuus anno 1153 Sherboniæ. — *Opera*, vol. prim., col. 910 (notæ).

sense to Pope Innocent, A. D. 1141, exhorting the pontiff to treat the kinsman of the king as Peter had treated him who thought that the gifts of God could be purchased with money;[1] and though by that time Innocent had ceased to be his personal friend, the pontifical judgment agreed with his own, and the pallium, the symbol of the office of archbishop, was refused to the royal candidate. Henry, on the other hand, was subsequently confirmed in his election by the pope, and received the pallium. By this the king was highly incensed, and the friends of William were sharply excited, — were indeed so excited that the Fountains' abbey was a few years later attacked and sacked by them.[2] After a time, however, the animosity subsided, or was felt to be useless; and Henry remained in the archbishopric until his death, A. D. 1153.

During the years in which the matter remained in dispute, not being finally decided at Rome, where the policy was to delay as long as possible a definitive settlement of matters like these, the zeal of Bernard against the man whom he thought unworthy, but who had the king of England behind him, never flagged. As he had written to Innocent, who was then repaying with cool indifference or distinct animosity the enormous service which

[1] Archiepiscopus Eboracensis venit ad vos, homo qui non posuit Deum adjutorem suum, sed speravit in multitudine divitiarum suarum. Causa ejus infirma est, et languida; et sicut virorum veracium attestatione deprehendimus, a planta pedis usque ad verticem non est sanitas in ea. . . . Ecce ille venit cum multis, quos adstipulavit sibi, et precibus, et pretio. . . . Quid ergo faciet Vicarius Petri in negotio isto, nisi quod fecit Petrus cum illo, qui donum Dei æstimavit pecunia possideri? — *Opera*, vol. prim., epist. cccxlvi. col. 642.

[2] Henricus abbas Fontanensis cum aliis eum pertraxit ad Eugenium, a quo amotus est Willelmus. Ejus fautores Fontanense monasterium diripuerunt. — *Opera*, vol. prim., coll. 911 (notæ).

the abbot had rendered him, so he wrote afterward to Celestine Second a most earnest letter about the matter, which matter he wishes might pass from the knowledge of all, and be buried in everlasting silence. The failure to put William with peremptory decree out of the office for which he was unfit, is to him a very triumph of the devil, seen to be so in all the world.[1] When Eugenius became pope he wrote to him letter after letter on the same subject,[2] instructing, reproving, exhorting, not always perhaps with all long-suffering, but with a fervor of spirit that at last carried the day and secured the result. Henry died within a year of his own decease; but before death he had been finally recognized at Rome as the true archbishop. One may doubt, perhaps, whether Bernard's friendship had not misled him, or whether he had not been prejudiced unduly against the candidate of the king by his jealousy of any royal intervention in affairs of the Church. But it seems impossible not to admire the steadfast sincerity of his spirit and speech, the fearlessness which regarded not the person of kings, the broad view to which York, in the distant north of England, was as distinct, and almost as near to his Church-loving heart, as was Sens or Rheims. He had never visited England; but all Christian Europe was to him as one parish.

[1] O rem ignorantia omnium dignam, et perpetuo, si fieri posset, silentio comprimendam! Verum id sero. Heu! notus est orbi triumphus diaboli. Ubique pertonat plausus incircumsisorum et planctus bonorum, pro eo quod videatur sapientiam vicisse malitia. . . . Publice infamatus, ante judicem accusatus, nec purgatus, imo et convictus, et sic consecratus est. — *Opera*, vol. prim., epist. ccxxxv. col. 494.

[2] Epist. ccxxxviii., where he again says of William: "Sed speravit in multitudine divitiarum suarum, et prævaluit in vanitate sua." ccxxxix., ccxl., cclii.: "Si adhuc steterit; proh dolor! verendum, ne ipsius status sit vester casus; dum quidquid adjecerit, utpote mala arbor, quæ non potest nisi malos fructus facere, non illi jam, sed vobis merito imputetur." — *Opera*, vol. prim., coll. 502–506, 526.

This illustrates the breadth of his interest in what concerned the affairs of the Church. The intensity of that interest is exemplified, perhaps as well as by anything, by the part which he took in a matter concerning the bishop of Paris, who had come to be involved in a fierce dispute with the king of France, Louis Sixth. In this case Bernard had only reached middle life, A. D. 1127, and the great fame which the following years were swiftly to bring him was yet hidden from all. This was in fact the first utterance which startled Europe with the sense of his extraordinary power of command. In this case, too, he was not fronting the fury of a king who lived at a distance, and to whom he owed no personal allegiance, but of his own sovereign; and his words were addressed, not to pontiffs whom he had made such, and of whom men said that he himself was more the pope than the pontiff, but to a monarch near at hand, on whose word armies waited, and whose wrath might wipe out the abbey of Clairvaux as one should cut up roots with a mattock. So regarded, his action and words have an emphasis on them which he himself never surpassed. There is some obscurity about the origin of the trouble, but the facts as Bernard had them to deal with are sufficiently obvious.

The bishop of Paris had been in some way injured, as he conceived, by the king; and with his metropolitan, the archbishop of Sens, he had laid the monarch under an interdict, and fled to Citeaux, to seek sympathy and help from the great monastic establishments. It might seem that Louis, with experienced advisers and an increasing military power, could smile disdainfully at any monastic interference with his plans; and at first he did so. But the letter which forthwith went from Bernard, written in the name of the abbots and brothers

of the Cistercian affiliation, called him to halt, in a tone which startled king and kingdom by its imperative boldness. "The Lord of heaven and earth," he said, "has given to you a kingdom on earth, and will give you one in heaven, if that which you have here received you study to administer justly and wisely. This is what we wish for you, this what we pray for you; that here in fidelity, and there in felicity, you may reign. But by what counsel is it that you now sharply repulse these same prayers of ours for you, which before, if you remember, you have so humbly requested? . . . These things we have taken pains to intimate to you and for you, boldly indeed, and yet with affection; admonishing and entreating you, by our reciprocal friendship and fraternity, to which you have courteously joined yourself, but which you are now grievously wounding, that you speedily desist from a course so evil. Otherwise, if we are not counted worthy to be heard, but are despised, — even we, your brothers, your friends, who daily offer prayers for you, for your sons, and your kingdom, — you may know that our weakness, in whatsoever things it hath power, will not be wanting to the Church of God, and to its minister, our venerable father and friend the bishop of Paris, who, invoking our humility against you, has sought for himself, by right of our brotherhood, our letters to the Lord Pope. . . . If it may please you, under God's inspiration, to incline your ear to our prayers, and according to our counsel and desire to re-establish favor with the bishop, or rather with God, we are ready, on account of this thing, to journey to you wherever it may please you; but if not, it is necessary for us to listen to our friend, and to obey the priest of God! Farewell."[1]

[1] Opera, vol. prim., epist. xlv. coll. 190–191.

Louis could not be careless of words like these, and of the tone of spiritual command which rang throughout them, and he had almost yielded to the pressure when the pope Honorius Second intervened, and raised the interdict. It was of course a hard blow at those on whose behalf, and in whose name, Bernard had written; and the pen which was strong as a battle-axe and sharper than the point of a lance turned upon the pontiff, as I have mentioned in a previous lecture, with a scornful severity which does not yet cease to surprise us. "The honor of the Church wounded by Honorius" was his unflinching retort upon the ruler of Christendom.[1] One does not see how a sharper or more contemptuous rebuke could have been put into words so few. King and pontiff, to his sensitive, fervent, and consecrated soul, were alike to be honored or alike to be rebuked as their feet were found, or were not found, in the way which to him appeared the way of justice and truth.

Instances like these illustrate fairly the spirit of Bernard, — trenchant, not truculent, faithful, free, and utterly bold, while also, as we have seen, most affectionate and devout; and in their time they affected, not the convent of Clairvaux alone, or those which had sprung from it, but the general affairs of the kingdom and of Europe. But there is still one part of his action to be brought into view, to illustrate another side of his character, with the power which he exerted whensoever he was moved to put it forth. I refer to that championship by him of the order of Templars which lifted it out of weakness and obscurity, and gave it the prodigious impulse in Europe out of which came its astonishing development in that age and the following.

All orders of chivalry must have had, undoubtedly, an

[1] Opera, vol. prim., epist. xlvi. col. 191.

attraction for Bernard, so long as their proper temper was maintained. Convent-walls were, indeed, more sacred to him than feudal keeps, and the only banners which carried with them his full enthusiasm were the Royal banners of which Venantius Fortunatus had long before sung, —

> "Vexilla regis prodeunt,
> Fulget crucis mysterium;"

but the knightly blood was as vital in his veins as if he had borne his father's shield on stricken fields, and the temper of daring, endurance, consecration was the temper which lay nearest his heart. The oath with which the candidate for knighthood was set apart to a noble service; the white tunic which he took, to symbolize chastity; the red robe, which represented the blood that he must be ready to offer; the black coat, which foreshadowed the death which awaited him, — all these were beautiful by their significance to the spirit of Bernard; and the solemn charge to be loyal and valiant was really only the motto of his life. Human nature was often hard and haughty, as it has not wholly ceased to be since; and the raiment which men wore, of silk or of steel, certainly did not change this nature. Greed and license, and brutal crime, were too often familiar to knights, as they were not unknown even to monks; and the steel-headed lance may have sometimes made more ruthless the hand which held it, the iron breastplate have hardened the heart which beat behind. But in the ideal of knighthood, as it stood before Bernard, as it lives still on fascinating pages, was something peculiarly lofty and delicate, humane and religious. Courtesy, reverence, gentleness, courage, veracity, honor, respect for womanhood, carelessness of death, — these are qualities of a cosmical value; and they certainly were

cherished, rather than limited or enfeebled, by the discipline, the oath, and the exercise of knighthood. Mr. Lecky has truly said that "the ideal knight of the Crusades and of Chivalry, uniting the force and fire of the ancient warrior with the tenderness and humility of the Christian saint, . . . though it was rarely or never perfectly realized in life, remained the type and model of warlike excellence, to which many generations aspired; and its softening influence," he justly adds, "may even now be largely traced in the character of the modern gentleman."[1]

It was, of course, as natural as song to the bird, or the murmur of leaves under the breeze, that Bernard should sympathize with every true knight. But the Templars, in his view, stood apart from and above other military orders, as at once pre-eminently chivalric and monastic. Their early, and for long their principal house, was in the Temple-enclosure at Jerusalem, whence their name, and whence a certain penumbra of sanctity investing their order. Their special purpose was to succor pilgrims on the way to Jerusalem; and their oath included a particular promise to this effect, in addition to the common monastic vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. As monks, they belonged to the order of Saint Augustine. As warriors, their accepted errand on earth was to fence with lances the path to the places which the Saviour had trodden, that the feeblest might safely walk therein. Their oath bound them to go beyond sea whenever they were needed; never to fly, if singly attacked, before three infidels; to observe perpetual chastity; to assist in every way religious persons, and especially the Cistercians, as their brothers and friends: "So might God help them, and the holy Evan-

[1] Hist. of European Morals, vol. ii. p. 275. New York ed., 1874.

gelists!" For not a few years they kept their oath; and no soldiers were feared by the enemy as were these, in whom it was said that the gentleness of the lamb and the patience of the hermit were combined with the strength of the lion and the boldness of the hero. Their standard, named Beaucéant, was half white and half black, and it bore the motto, "Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam."

No other scheme can be imagined which would have appealed with more complete power to the spirit of Bernard. All that was knightly in his blood, drawn from a race of fighting ancestors, all that was poetic, sympathetic, devout, in his impassioned and animating spirit, was enlisted at once for the maintenance of this order, and for its rapid exaltation. Ten years after the institution of the order it still numbered less than a score of members; but at the Council of Troyes, A. D. 1128, at which he was present, a vast impulse was given to it, and from that time it went forward to such strength and fame as no other order has ever attained. Bernard's view of it, in its early aims, was eloquently expressed in a treatise which he wrote on it, after some years had passed.[1] His exhortation to those embraced in it is as characteristic of his governing temper as any one thing written by him. As to soldiers of the world he says: "What intolerable madness it is to fight, at vast cost and labor, for no other wages than those of death and of sin! You deck your horses with silken trappings; you put on, I know not what hanging cloaks, over your corslets; you paint your shields, your spears, your saddles; you ornament bridles and spurs with gold, with silver, with precious stones; and in such pomp, with disgraceful rage and shameless insensibility, you

[1] Opera, vol. prim., De Laude Novæ Militiæ, coll. 1253–78.

rush upon death! Are these the insignia of soldiers, or not rather unmanly decorations? . . . Nor does anything move you to battle except an impulse of irrational wrath, or an empty thirst for glory, or the greed of earthly gain! Certainly, for reasons like these it is neither safe to kill nor safe to fall. But the soldiers of Christ fight safely the battles of their Lord, neither fearing sin in the killing of their enemies, nor dreading danger in their own death; since death for Christ, whether borne or inflicted, has nothing of crime in it, and deserves highest glory. The soldier of Christ, I say, is safe when he kills, yet safer when he dies. When he kills, it profits Christ; when he dies, it profits himself. For not without cause does he bear the sword. . . . Yet," he adds, "even the Pagans are not to be killed if in any other way they can be restrained from their hostility and oppression toward the faithful."[1]

He rejoices, with all his heart, in what he recognizes as the austere discipline of these soldiers of Christ; that in their food and clothing is nothing superfluous, but everything for need; that they live in communities, without wives or children, their converse being glad yet sober; that separate properties are not known among them, but all are united in one spirit; that they do not sit in idleness, or wander about in vague curiosity, but when they are not going to battle, which rarely happens, are refitting clothes and armor, and doing whatever is needful in the camp; that the haughty word, the useless deed, extravagant laughter, murmuring and whispering, are unknown among them; that dice they detest, and in hunting or hawking find no pleasure; that mimes and story-tellers, and wanton songs, they regard with abhorrence; that they shave their heads, are never gay in

[1] Opera, vol. prim., Exhor. ad Mil. Temp., coll. 1256–57.

apparel, rarely washed, shaggy with untrimmed beards, grimy with dust, swarthy with armor and with heat.[1] Such were soldiers whom Bernard honored with a loyal admiration. The splendid processions of feudal pomp were grievous in his sight. The brilliance of tournaments was a glittering shame. But these bronzed warriors, at once warriors and monks, brave, chaste, and careless of death, soldiers of Christ, champions of the poor, who gave their life under Syrian suns to keep the way open to the city of the Cross, — his soul drew to them with sympathetic affection, and all the vast reach of his influence in Europe was given to their cause.

At the Council of Troyes, as I have said, the order was formally recognized and established, to be soon incorporated under a rule of its own, with special privileges. The impulse then given it went on with only augmenting force in after years. New members were rapidly enrolled in the order. The noblest families were glad and proud to have in it representatives. Immense gifts, of lands and of money, were made to its treasury. The white tunic of the Templar, with the red cross blazoned over the heart, became a passport to universal honor. No soldiers were feared as they were in the land of the Saracen; no soldiers were honored like them in Christian countries. They had their own government, even their exclusive religious privilege, so that an interdict on the kingdom left their services undisturbed. With vast possessions in many lands, with unequalled prowess and skill in arms, with enormous power and an immense fame, they remained for almost two hundred years at the head of the military orders of Europe, till their own license, ambition, greed, with a fierce royal jealousy, combined to overthrow them. Those who

[1] Opera, vol. prim., Exhor. ad Mil. Temp., coll. 1259–60.

read with delight, as for three fourths of a century men have been reading, the prose-poem of Ivanhoe, — a truer history than many chronicles, — will need no other account than is there given of what the Templars came to be, or of why at last their power was ended. The splendid meteor, consumed by fierce internal combustion, fell in the end, a noisome pulp. It closed, as we know, in an awful catastrophe, under Clement the Fifth and Philip the Fair.[1] No doubt the world was well rid of it at last; but no one who follows its astonishing history can fail to feel what a power there was in that hand of Bernard, gentle as a woman's, stronger than of statesman, which contributed so largely to lift the order to the splendid supremacy of a century and three quar-

[1] Le Temple, comme tous les ordres militaires, dérivait de Cîteaux. Le réformateur de Cîteaux, saint Bernard, de la même plume qui commentait le Cantique des cantiques, donna aux chevaliers leur règle enthousiaste et austère. Cette règle, c'était l'exil et la guerre sainte jusqu'à la mort. . . . Ils n'avaient pas de repos à espérer. On ne leur permettait pas de passer dans des ordres moins austères. — MICHELET : Hist. de France, tom. iii. p. 124.

La chute est grave après les grands efforts. L'âme montée si haut dans l'héroïsme et la sainteté, tombe bien lourde en terre. Malade et aigrie, elle se plonge dans le mal avec une faim sauvage, comme pour se venger d'avoir cru. Telle parait avoir été la chute du Temple. Tout ce qu'il y avait eu de saint en l'ordre, devint péché et souillure. Après avoir tendu de l'homme à Dieu, il tourna de Dieu à la Bête. Les pieuses agapes, les fraternités héroïques, couvrirent de sales amours de moines. Ils cachèrent l'infamie en s'y mettant plus avant. — *Ibid.*, p. 132.

Les Templiers, amenés le dimanche devant le concile, avaient été jugés le lundi ; les uns, qui avouaient, mis en liberté ; d'autres, qui avaient toujours nié, emprisonnés pour la vie; ceux qui rétractaient leurs aveux déclarés relaps. Ces derniers, au nombre de cinquante-quatre, furent dégradés le même jour par l'évêque de Paris et livrés au bras séculier. Le mardi, ils furent brûlés à la porte Saint-Antoine. Ces malheureux avaient varié dans les prisons, mais ils ne varièrent point dans les flammes, ils protestèrent jusqu'au bout de leur innocence. La foule était muette et comme stupide d'étonnement. — *Ibid.*, p. 180.

ters. Perhaps we may be led to feel that if his ideal of it could have been maintained, in the downward-tending human experience, the world would have been his debtor for it in all time to come.

Ladies, and Gentlemen: my pleasant task comes to its end. I have tried to set Bernard before you as I had come years since to see him, through happy studies of his writings and his work. If in any measure I have succeeded, the remembrance of it will be to me a joy. I have carefully sought not to exalt him above what is meet, and not to fail clearly to exhibit what may seem to us, in our changed times, not mistaken only, but possibly narrow, passionate, or severe, in his spirit and work. I seem to myself to recognize fairly his limitations; and he would have been the last man in the world to claim to be without stain of sin. But surely we must accept him as quite the most eminent and governing man in the Europe of his time; whose temper had in it a remarkable combination of sweetness and tenderness, with practical sagacity, devout consecration, a dauntless courage, and a terrible intensity; whose word carried with it a sovereign stress surpassing that of any other, whose hand most effectively moulded history. Concentration of force was no more among his characteristics than was the broadest range of attention. He moved with his entire energy upon whatever he undertook, yet all the public development of Christendom was of interest to his mind. Naturally a devout poetic recluse, he became the most practical master of affairs appearing on the Continent. As a primary aim, his life was given to the monastic discipline and duty, with the multiplication and the purification of the monasteries, which to him were nurseries of religion, schools of high training,

asylums of piety; and he left at his death a hundred and sixty which had sprung from Clairvaux, while in that single abbey were its seven hundred monks. But all the while he was equally intent on making the entire Church in Europe what he felt that it should be, — the living witness for the Master, the guide to the erring, the refuge of the oppressed, a celestial helper to all disturbed but faithful souls; and there was hardly a secular movement of public importance, in France or around it, which did not draw his earnest attention, on which he did not exert an influence, always powerful, and surely for the most part benign.

Nothing appeared too minute for his regard, as nothing was great enough to fatigue his patience or to stagger his courage. He sent forth a Crusade, and superintended the affairs of his convent, with equal readiness, one might almost say with equal facility. He put a pontiff on the throne, and with the same voice and an undisturbed pulse subdued to reason a refractory monk. In debates of synods, and in king's councils, his voice was commanding, and prelates and nobles acknowledged their master; yet when he died the weakest had lost their teacher and comforter, and the poorest their affectionate companion. Even the grave did not close on his influence. As it was said of the Spanish Cid, who died when Bernard was a lad of eight years, that his lifeless body, clothed in mail and set upon his horse, carried dismay into the Moorish ranks and camps, so the name and fame of the great abbot remained an inspiration, a defence, and a warning, after he had returned to the dust. Even in our day the contest has been sharp, between the advocates and the opponents of a recent Roman Catholic dogma, as to how it is related to Bernard's judgment; and the time will not

come when the splendid lessons of his character and career will cease to be of the treasures of Christendom.

To me he stands, I gladly confess, among the real heroes of history. Others there were, in his own century, of finer and rarer philosophical gifts, with a more acute power for subtle analysis, a more discursive range of thought, perhaps a subtler intuition of truth. Others there may doubtless have been of an equal sincerity, and an equal consecration. The men who came after him had, of course, a position more advanced, an intellectual equipment more complete, by reason, in part, of their inheritance of the fruit of his labors. But taking him all in all, in his time, he seems to me substantially unique. It is certainly not easy to find another combining traits at once so engaging and so majestic. It is not easy to find another whose work, on the whole, was more remarkable, or more deserving of our remembrance. Others raised ripples, shining and wide; he lifted tides. Others rode proudly on popular currents, which he with a profounder energy stirred or stemmed. It is not without forethought that I have associated his name with the more famous and dominating names of Charlemagne and Hildebrand. What they did governmentally for Europe, that he did morally, more fully than any other; assisting by character, by inspirations of noble thought and superlative example, to the development of that moral unity among the peoples of the Continent without which governmental unity, in Church or in State, must have remained superficial and transient. Charlemagne towered over the Europe of his time, colossal, magnificent, with civil wisdom and military power both of which were wholly unmatched, with vast architectural plans for society, and with a genius for command to which his throne gave an equal opportunity. Hilde-

brand — greatest, as I think, in the series of the popes — was equally supreme in the Europe of his day, and from the pontifical chair at Rome guided and governed princes and peoples who believed him to hold the keys of Heaven. But here was a man, with no station to give him prominence, only one of the many thousands of abbots, without army or treasury, without crown or tiara, who by spirit, by genius, by fervent purpose expressed in the eloquence of deeds as of words, and by an almost magical control over men, exerted an influence hardly less conspicuous, in some respects more wide and vital, than that of either emperor or pope. His was an office surpassing while completing theirs, — to compact Europe through a pervasive spiritual life; to make it one, not by encircling clamps of armies, not by commanding hierarchical decrees, but by exalting before it a character, an aim, a spiritual experience, most signal in himself, but attracting admiration, and inciting aspiration, from all on whom fell the lustre of his name. He can hardly have been conscious of the full greatness of his own mission. In his humility he would have shrunk from an office so august. But his was a power, of instruction and stimulation, largely forming his age, and vastly outlasting it; while his pre-eminence is nobler and more significant through his want of either armament or rank.

English writers appear for the most part, in their occasional references to him, to have done him scant justice. Their differences from him have been too often elemental; not of opinion only, or of Church association, but of temperament, bent of mind, inherited life-force. Perhaps our hurrying, noisy times, are all too distant, in time and in tone, to allow us to take full impression from him. But I think of him in his physi-

cal weakness, raising armies, subduing nobles, curbing kings, directing the Church, and he represents the invincible mind which more and more was to govern and pervade the whole frame of society. I think of him in his personal spirit, contemplative, devout, intensely practical, yet marvellously lofty, self-sacrificing, sincere, and passionately devoted to what he esteemed the noblest ends, and he represents the consecrated heart, humble, intrepid, and near to the Master's, from which civilization must always take its finest and divinest force. I summon before me his whole inspiring and delicate personality, with the pathos and the power which it equally infolded, and I see how invisible spiritual energies had been at work in preceding ages, even in the darkest, to find at last their issue in him, as the geyser leaps with flashing heat into the dark and icy air, from the pressure of many streams behind. And when I see what an influence he exerted from a modest cell, in a narrow ravine, — not from any cathedral throne, not even from any university chair, — the contrast between the tenth century and his becomes almost astonishing. Surely we have traced an enormous progress! Hildebrand and Urban had been greater benefactors of the world than they knew, since this frail figure, with hardly a continuing foothold on the planet, could rise to such sovereignty over the Europe which they had in a measure trained.

Nor does it surprise us, when we see what he was and what was the effect of his spirit and work, that the following ages should show an advancement, not swift but sure, silent but wide; that universities were established, to become the centres of expanding intelligence; that the splendid work of cathedral-building went on with a superb rapidity; that the labors of the schoolmen were more ample and searching, and pointed ever toward

richer results; that the voice of Christian song broke forth in sweeter and in grander strains.

One does not wonder that after a time such a king as Louis Ninth came to be possible, the splendid knight, the liberal sovereign, the devout and saintly believer; that even agriculture prospered, population was multiplied, wealth was increased, liberties were expanded, in the new atmosphere; that the power of the commons was gradually lifted, with the privileges of boroughs and cities; and that, in spite of all the corruption with which the religious system of Europe came to be infected — partly, at least, through the forty years' schism — the vital forces revealed in the spiritual life of Bernard flowed on and widened, till at last the great enfranchisement of mind in the sixteenth century broke into exhibition with irresistible force.

I trust that it may be for the profit of all of us that we have so long allowed our minds to be occupied at intervals with the thought of this man. I would even hope that the age in which he lived may have taken before us a clearer outline, and have shown us what was best in its temper. I surely hope that any attentive and thoughtful spirits which have here looked upon him may take from him some nobler impulse. If ever we are tempted to an indolent self-indulgence, his readiness for every high service should rebuke us. If we ever grow faint before unrighteous assault, his dauntless and heroical spirit should shame our weakness, and bear us up into unfailing courage. If the Gospel should threaten to lose for us any part of its glory, seeming likely to be dimmed by speculative philosophies or possibly discredited by physical research, it cannot but be well for us to remember what sources of highest life he found in it, and to let his assurance of the Divine Message which

came by Christ open to us its light and height. If the world should ever appear to us too selfish and gross to allow realization to the supreme hope of a Divine Kingdom universal upon it, let us remember how it lay before him, in the wild furies of oppression and passion, with the shadow of darkened ages upon it, and let his inflexible and vehement assurance of the victory of the Lord be to us a reproof and a cure. For one, I recognize no separation from him because he was in the Roman Church, as my ancestors then were, but as I am not. The Church in which such a man was produced, and on which his power was majestically exerted, must always take an honor from him. But it is his personal quality which makes him reverend and dear to our thought, not his connection with the Church which he loved but which he reproved; and the splendor of his spirit overshines party walls. Personally I know that I owe him much,— for uplift from depression, for tranquilizing influence in times of disturbance, for encouragement to duty when it seemed unattractive, for the fine inspirations of spiritual thought. He has been to me a frequent minister of noblest impulse; and it has been simply a labor of love to present these rapid sketches of him.

The eulogies pronounced on him in his own Church have been earnest and abundant, and they continue to our time. But there are some words of James Martineau, not written with reference to him, which one may properly remember in considering a character and a work like his. "We deceive ourselves," Martineau says, "if in our higher life we forget our ancestry, and profess to be autochthones . . . For myself, both conviction and feeling keep me close to the poetry and the piety of Christendom. It is my native air, and in no other can

I breathe; and wherever it passes it so mellows the soil, and feeds the roots of character, and nurtures such grace and balance of affection, that for any climate similarly rich in elements of perfect life I look in vain elsewhere." [1] It is the poetry and the piety of Christendom in the Middle Age, as well as its energy, its sovereign purpose, perhaps in some measure its mistakes, which Bernard represents. In all the glow of practical enterprise, and all the haste of incessant activity, we cannot but see that out of retired and high contemplation, from a prayerfulness so habitual that it hardly needed expression in words, from a sympathy with the Master as keen as that of John or of Paul, from the expectation of attaining through Him a victorious purity, and the Vision of God, — from these came the power, the achievement, and the fame which make him illustrious. You remember how Dante saw him in Paradise: —

> "I thought I should see Beatrice, and saw
> An old man, habited like the glorious people;
> O'erflowing was he in his eyes and cheeks
> With joy benign, in attitude of pity,
> As to a tender father is becoming.
> . . . . . .
> As he who peradventure from Croatia
> Cometh to gaze at our Veronica —
> Even such was I while gazing at the living
> Charity of the man, who in this world
> By contemplation tasted of that peace." [2]

So stood Bernard before the grand and sad Italian, when seen a century and a half after his death, in the tenth sphere, amid the snow-white rose which opened its concentric leaves — faces of flame, and wings of gold — beneath the effluence of the Eternal Sun; the exemplar of

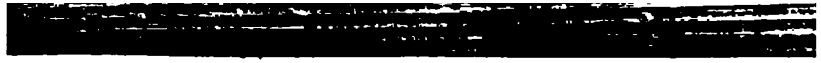
[1] Preface to "Hymns of Praise and Prayer."
[2] Paradiso, xxxi. 57–63, 94–110.

contemplation, the surpassing model of a devout charity, the guide of those who with disciplined sight would mount along the rays of Heaven. Such had he been when working on earth, with a force so tireless, in a body so feeble. So the records of history set him before us. The spiritual sublimed the natural in him. Celestial forces broke through his life into the dark secular spheres. From worlds on high came the supplies of his amazing and invincible energy. In times of tumult and of peril he followed those of the earlier day "who, through faith, subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens." One does not know where else to look for a more lofty and shining exhibition of the power of Faith as a subjective spiritual force, and of the enthusiasm which it inspires. Here was the source of whatever was most majestic in his astonishing character and career. This linked his frail and lowly life with Continental trends and triumphs. This made his rapid and crowded years the source of an influence which never has ceased, while to himself the path to higher realms of service. Because of it, he led the peoples, awed the prelates, conquered kings. Because of it, he ascended at last from the bright valley which he had fashioned into a home of piety and peace to the mountains of God, — going happily, as one of his biographers said, "from the body of death on earth to the land of the living, from the sobbing lament of his disciples to the joyful assemblies, to the welcoming cohorts of saints, to the armies of angels, to the glory of Christ." [1] I think of him planning, toiling, struggling to the last, in the impulse of faith, for what he con-

[1] Opera, vol. sec., Vita, i. lib. v. col. 2259.

ceived the service of God, and I know of no other who could better have adopted, if he had chosen, the words of the hymn of the other Bernard, the monk of Clugni: —

"And now we fight the battle, but then shall wear the crown
Of full and everlasting and passionless renown;
For now we watch and struggle, and now we live by hope,
And Zion in her anguish with Babylon must cope;
But He whom now we trust in shall then be seen and known,
And they who know and see Him shall have Him for their own!"



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